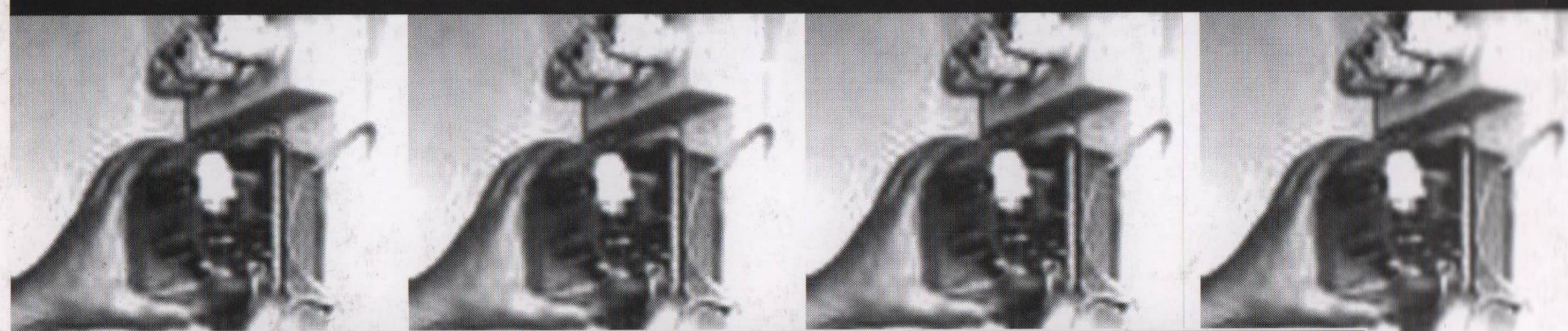
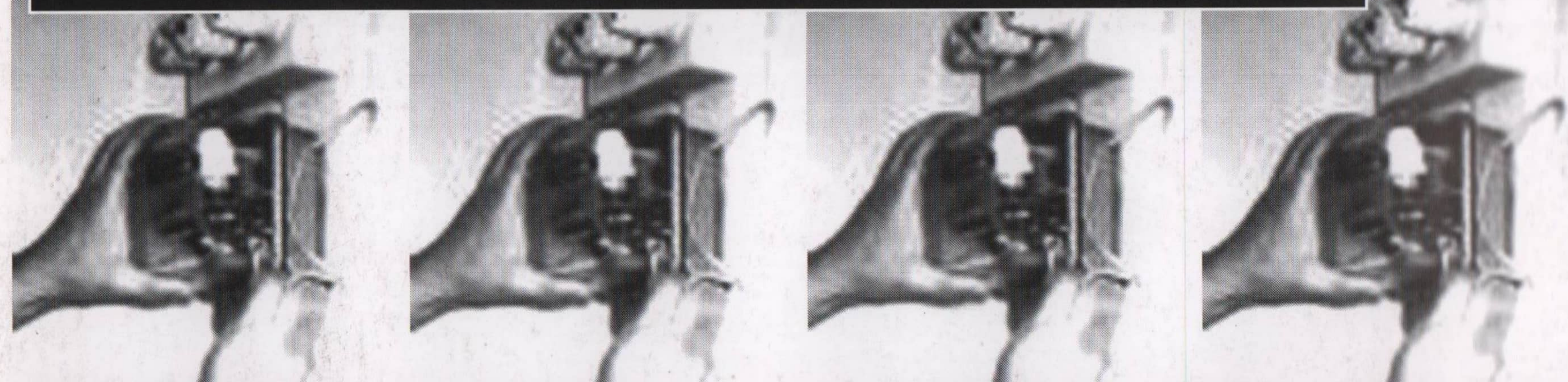


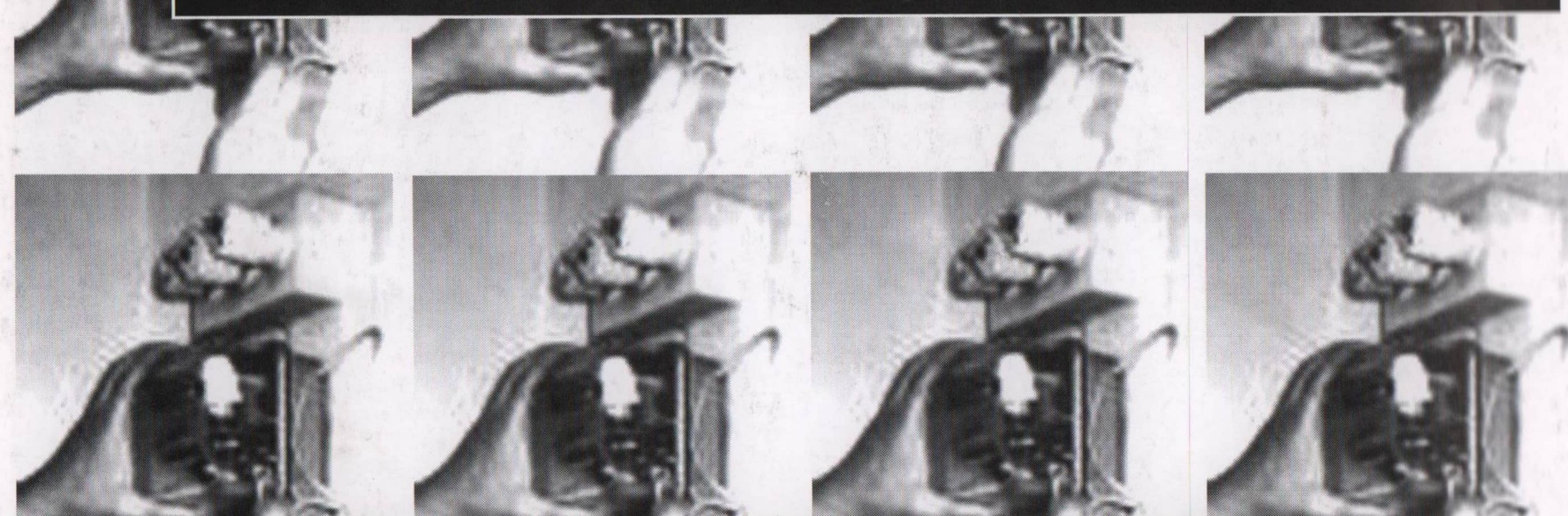
THE EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES HAVE GOOD EXPERIENCE ...



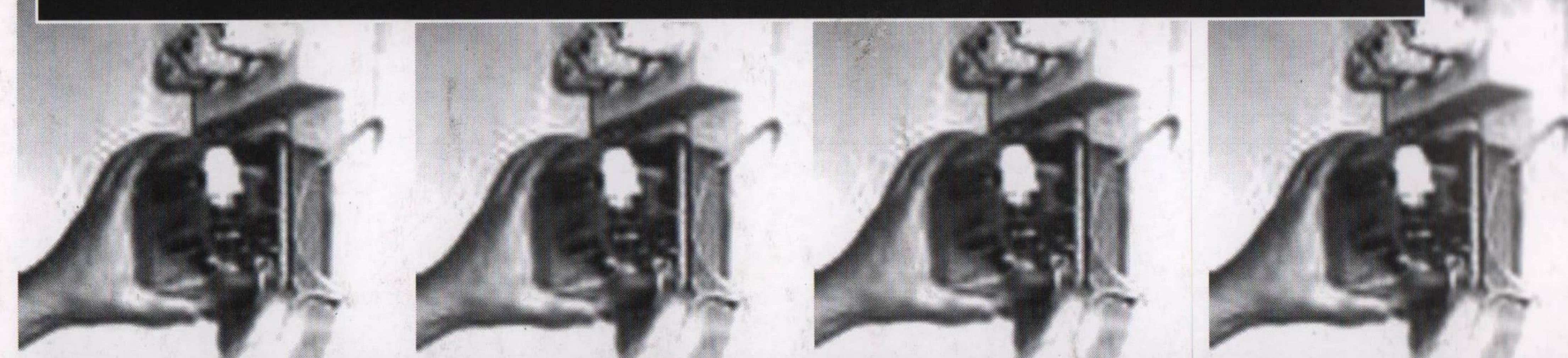
THE MAGIC POWER



OF THE COLLECTIVE



RE-APPROPRIATION



... AT ABOLISHING DICTATORSHIPS. NEXT ONE WILL BE CAPITALISM !

ABOLISHING

THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

ISSUE # 18 A 7206

BI-MONTHLY MAGAZINE

NOVEMBER 2004

**SECRETS OF
SMUGGLING
SOCIAL REFLECTION**

**INTO ACTS OF
RE-APPROPRIATION**

ANARCHIST COURIER FROM EASTERN EUROPE

There is a justifiable need to abolish the borders between nations, societies, cultures and whatever else separates and defines us. In order that this process does not lead to the formation of new borders or other types of segregation, like those established by elitist institutions such as the EU, NATO or UN, it has to be done from below, by the people. There is an enduring need to immediately abolish all states, governments and authoritarian institutions so that communities based on common values such as freedom, respect, cooperation and solidarity can be formed. These communities in turn can lead to the transformation of the world order into one based on the above mentioned values. In order to push that process forward with support for the development of the anarchist movement over the borders we have created ...

"Abolishing the Borders from Below" an anarchist courier from Eastern Europe

There are many reasons why it is necessary to put out this type of publication on a regular basis. There are a large number of anarchist groups in EE which could operate much more effectively with a continual exchange of ideas, tactics, experiences and materials with similarly minded groups from all over Europe and the World. It is clear that many western activists are also interested in the ideas and actions of the "eastern anarchists". We believe it to be necessary to tighten the cooperation between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and its effects on our life. A mutual exchange of inspirations, motivations, and cooperation from anarchist communities all over Europe is needed on a day to day basis not only in times of international protests like the ones in Prague, Gothenburg and Genoa. The intent of this paper is to set up a better network of communication between groups and individuals from different parts of this continent. It is also a platform for regular presentation and exchange for various anarchist groups from EE itself, as well as helping to strengthen contacts between them and will hopefully lead to mutual inspiration. It also gives an opportunity for effectively organizing common campaigns and struggles. The process of creating an editorial team for AbolishingBB was a great step toward this so we appeal to everyone to make the most of the information here as effectively as possible. Finally this paper can be seen also as a mirror of our movement so every positive development in EE is coming back to us in form of motivation for further work on this magazine ...

An anarchist courier

"AbolishingBB" is a bi-monthly bulletin with information on different political and cultural anarchist/anti-authoritarian activities in Eastern Europe.

Editorial team

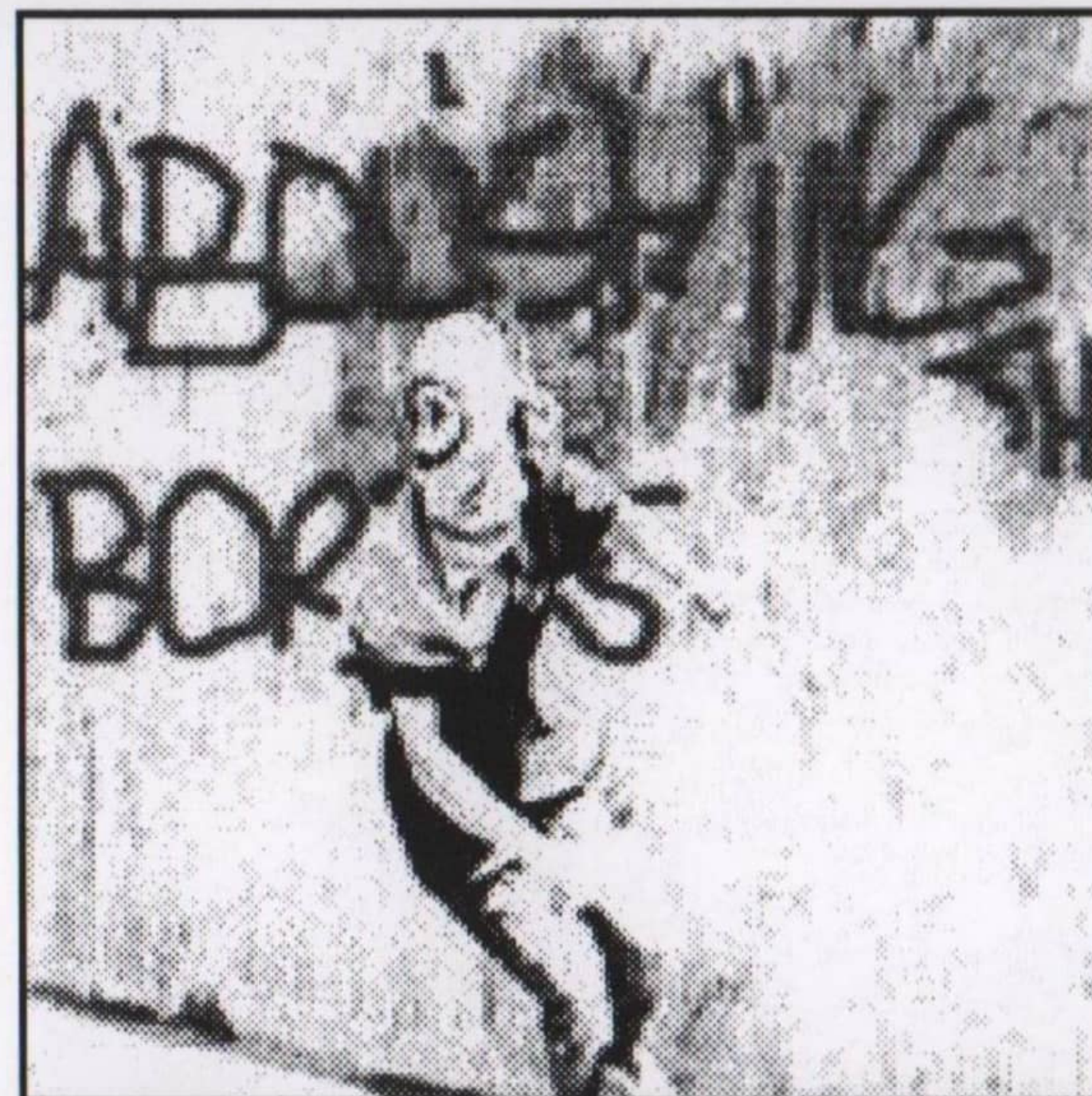
Is a part of an international anarchist collective based around east-european activists living in Berlin. Our work would be not possible without great cooperation of our correspondents around EE.

Abolishing Collective

This collective was created in Autumn 2001 in Berlin by east-european migrant anarchists. As well as this publication the collective also organizes radio-show, a libertarian library, various solidarity actions, informative meetings, cultural events. We're cooperating with other anarchist groups, projects and campaigns (mostly in EE but not only) and supporting local and global struggle against all kinds of oppression and for free-society.

Correspondents

Our work is based on relatively stable network of correspondents from different regions of EE which are covering the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on no-profit bases.



Executors

Correspondents: Dima (Lwow - Ukraine), Orest (Pristina - Kosovo); Pavel (Prague - CS), Krivash (Bratislava - Slovakia), Marija (Skopje - Macedonia), Saszka (Grodno - Belarus), Nastya (Minsk - Belarus), Antti (Moscow - Russia), Tuuli & Slon (Petersburg - Russia), Domas (Vilnius - Lithuania), Ivo (Ryga - Latvia), Maja-Tine (Ljubljana - Slovenia), Jelena-Suncana (Zagreb - Croatia), Tavi (Timisoara - Romania), M. (Ankara - Turkey), Soja, Laura, Zaczek, Michu (Bialystok, Warszawa, Torun - Poland), Barbara - Rebel Mouse (Belgrad - Serbia), Lajos (Budapest - Hungary).

Publishing, editing, text treatment, photos & graphics treatment, layout, cover concept, distribution to the local distributors, web-side mastering ...: **ABB Collective**

English-proof: JFK and Manuel
Print: DreiGroschenDruck & ABB + YellowKid

Other sources of info

These are: "alterEE" EE-anarchists internet discussion list, "Warhead" - internet info service of @-activities in Poland, ABC info bulletins, "Avtonom" russian magazine of Autonomous Action Network, Russian indymedia; KOLOKOL newsletter; Chechnya Newsletter; "AACTIV-ist Newsletter" from Romania & others.

Co-operation

If you operate in Eastern Europe you can send to us info about protests, manifestations and other actions going on in your region ... you can present activities of groups, collectives and projects working in your neighbourhood ... you can inform us about up-coming political and cultural events ... you can present statements of your group on local or global issues, you can express your ideas, opinions or criticism ... everything from anarchist perspective. You can join our redaction collective as a correspondent sending regular reports covering different forms of activities in your region. Please texts send to:

abolishingBB@hotmail.com

Please send your graphics/photos only to:

abolishingBBphotos@hotmail.com

If you operate in other parts of the world you can help with distribution. You can spread information about this publication or just make the most of the information here as effectively as possible.

Distribution

We are looking for people/collectives ready to distribute this publication on a regular basis in their regions (especially in southern Europe). Previous issues are as well available. Contact for distribution:

wielkowitsch@hotmail.com

More complex information on page 5.

Free copies / Print-Run

Free copies go to all info-shops and libertarian libraries in Eastern Europe (which get in touch with us) as well as to our correspondents who supply a postal address. At the moment we print by ourselves 1200 copies of each issue, and there are some local groups which make more copies by themselves after our agreement on that.

Financial side

Unfortunately until now we were not able to cover our editorial costs only through selling the newspaper so we are always very open for some benefits from outside.

bad enGlish reputation

As you probably noticed *THE ENGLISH* which is used in this newspaper is very far from its gramatical and stylistic ideals. It is mostly because this is *ENGLISH* in which most of our correspondents, big part of our readers and most of us (as the editors) are communicating. So obviously we choose to use *ENGLISH* which is understandable for ourselves. Secondly, we decided to be rather "*BAD ENGLISH - REPUTATION*" newspaper as to rise a level of language and this way decrease probably 30-60% of our regular readers, especially in south and eastern Europe.

AbolishingBB online

This website is a source of information about our collective but especially - an archive of all texts which appeared in our newspaper in the past. Check it out (some chapters are still under construction).

www.abb.hardcore.lt

Deadlines

Deadline for next issue: 15.12.2004

Not 100%

Not all opinions are same with our opinions but certainly all of them we found as worth to be printed (for various reasons) !!!

* Situation in Romanian and Azerbejian prisons * Anarcho-regionalists in Lithuania * Workers dismissal in Croatia * ABC Moscow*

A7206
This little anarchist project which just through its existence supports many others anarchist projects ...
... needs your financial support !

pages 6-9



BESLAN: CATALISATOR OF CREEPER UPHEAVAL IN RUSSIA REPORT ON PUTINS WAR-POLITICS

pages 10-20



RE-APPROPRIATION IN EASTERN EUROPE

Theory vs. Practice
Articles and interview towards
re-appropriation acts and processes in EE
Part 1: Poland and Russia

pages 16-17



BIEDASZYBY

"In Walbrzych currently lives 130 000 people, unemployment is 55 - 60 %" "Miners are breaking the law concerning exploitation of natural resources"

INTERVIEW WITH ACTIVIST FROM LOWER SILESIA - CRISIS REGION OF POLAND

pages 24-26



STRUGGLE IN "PROMISED LAND" OF CAPITALISTS

Workers' protests, migration and impoverishment
Romania after transision - REPORT

pages 27-28



"THIS IS NOT OUR CHOICE"

Presidential elections in Ukraine

pages 28-29



NEW DISPLACEMENT IN BRNO OR HOW IT'D FALLEN OUT WITH "DIRECT DEMOCRACY" Report from Slovakia

pages 33-34



ROMAS IN SERBIA ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE COMMUNITY IN RAKOVICE/BELGRAD INTERVIEW WITH ROMA ACTIVIST

In spite of dramatic financial problems and a slight volunteer decrease in our collecti-

ve, two problems which appeared independently from each other but both very much limiting our editorial capacities, we

managed to put out another issue almost on time. We are very glad about this and we really hope you will be too. This is not the special issue of ABB as was announced online recently. The special issue, dealing with modern history of eastern European societies from the

anarchist perspective can not be set up because of the reasons mentioned above. What is special in THIS issue is that apart from traditional reports on social fractions, presentation of activities of anarchist rooted communities and commentaries on various socio-political developments, all in Eastern Europe, we decided to penetrate, in our opinion, one of the most specific and current processes taking place within EE societies which is ... RE-APPROPRIATION.

After many years of remaining in silence, re-appropriation as possibly an essential element of the struggle (resistance) is back on the mouth of revolutionary leftists in the western part of the continent. In last period we have witnessed there a great number of various statements and polemics, as well as creation of new projects and campaigns related to that issue. Some groups have put this "taking-it-back" topic in the very centre of their political agenda, and in some traditional leftists' conferences - as a main theme of

the gatherings. Tons of examples were re-discovered in Latin America as worthy

to transplant on the Western European ground. And although, unfortunately, we did not release any efficient results of those challenges so far, some interesting analyses and reflections appeared and

least, there is something what scheme us specially towards approaching the re-appropriation ideas to the EE reality, namely the fact that apparently these kinds of practices are anything but strange within EE societies. To put it short and clearly: what in western Europe appears as the theoretically proofed measure of revolutionary activity and urgently seeks for the subjects which would be ready to put it into action, appears within many EE communities (in some countries more than in the others) to be a common practice which, paradoxically, does

further reactions of other correspondents and are ready to continue this issue in at least one more edition of ABB.

The second topic which took quite a lot of space in this issue is the currently growing oppression of the state apparatus towards huge parts of population (as it would never be enough of it) in some particular countries like Russia and Ukraine. The Ukrainian material we had taken from official press, as well as two other texts in this edition. Although we strongly prefer to print material written by true-activists before using work of the professional journalists, sometimes we found some events

too significant to not report on them just because of lack of original reporting. This

issue can be taken as an exemplary one for our editorial compromises.

Finally we would like to apologize to all of you which get this and the previous editions of ABB with few weeks long delay. It was caused by the reasons we explained in the very beginning. It is actually quite a painful situation for us, when after printing of the new issue tons of boxes filled up with newspapers are occupying our office for weeks as we have no funds to send them around the world. This was the situation with #17, and apparently the same will be with that edition. Here we are appealing once again to all of you, especially those ones which are not in the similar situation to ours, to support the existence of this one little project which just through its existence supports many many others in many regions. And so that you can get in January 2005 another 40 pages of crude english written messages from Eastern Europe. Till then ...

AbolishingBB



"No way, you will definitely not find in this issue any indications of where your cars have been seen last time - forget it!"
ABB#18: Re-appropriation in Eastern Europe / part 1.

stimulated us to give this issue some space in our magazine.

Actually there were two more reasons that further our interest. One is a very pragmatic one and derives from the great sense of our project which is about baking by building the bridges between east and west European anarchist and libertarian spectrums. Providing a space in ABB for sharing of various progressive ideas is one of these back-ups. Just to be understood properly: we are far from the idea of setting the concepts established in one part of continent in the other part just like that, without any considerations. What we are exactly interested in is at first to enable the approach, analysis and criticism of those concepts, what should be helpful by estimation of "fitting" of those concepts to the EE realities. Of course we are as well there to support and improve those of these concepts which EE communities decide as worthy of adoption.

Last but not the

ALL YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT OUR DISTRIBUTION

THE PREVIOUS ISSUES ARE STILL AVAILABLE DIRECTLY FROM OUR GROUND-ZERO-OFFICE IN BERLIN

issue # 12 - October 2003: Workers' Protests in Poland (several texts);

Proposal for next year NoBorder Camp; 2 pages of short reports from around EE; "Two houses evicted and no home for squatters in Ljubljana (story); Campaign for community center in Zagreb (report); Squat being created in Belgrade (report); News from Autonomist Collective - Torun (report); "Dealing with war, war makers and apathetic society" (Chechnya); "Reasons of War in Chechnya"; "No War between the people- no peace between the classes" (Chechnya); **Half interview - half masquerade with NAVINKI** (Belarus); Volja (presentation of russian magazine); Kolokol Newsletter; Falkor I.C.Y. newsletter; "The EU, anti-EU movement and feminist perspectives" (Poland); Rainbow Keepers conference (report); "City rising against methanol terminal" (Russia - report); ABC-moscow; Repression in Romania; Calendar of workers' protests in Poland 2002; Communities ...

issue # 13 - December 2003: Growing resistance against McDonalds and big business (collection of texts from Russia, Poland, Macedonia, Serbia, Lithuania and Romania); short infos from around EE; **Uzbekistan and Western Capitalist interests** (part 1); Squatting activities (reports from Petersburg, Skopje, Lithuania and Torun/Poland); **Interview with Ratibor T. Trinovac from serbian ASI**; Summary of XVII General Assembly of polish Anarchist Federation; presentation of various anarchist publications; reports on fascist activities in Romania, Poland and Lithuania; "Its all the same shit" elections in Croatia; workers struggle in Poland, Ukraine and Russia; and much much more !!!

issue # 14 - February 2004: The Alternative Economic Forum, Warsaw Poland April 28-30 2004 (presentation of alternative Summit intentions and topics); Building a critique of the new European Economics; **Terrorism: the bogymen of XXI century** (public announcement); **Peoples Global Action** (3rd European Conference and historical perspectives in Europe); Reports from squatting activities; Repressions (Process against Krasnodar anarchist; International solidarity needed for Romanian anarchists; When civil cops are calling - work of secret services); **RAZAM!** (interview with Belarusian group); **Countercultur pages** (The case f Nieznalska); Workers Working on their own instead of dismissals (tragic situation of Silesia region in Poland); Campaign against The US Military Base in Poland; **CAUCASUS BLOCK:** Uzbekistan and Western capitalist interests (part 2); Who needs to take Georgia under control (article); Neighbor war, either peace: Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan); A call for an International Day of Action against War in Chechnya; **Columns by Correspondents** (Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Russia); and more !

issue # 15 - April 2004: And what happen to the dogs (editorial article); EEF coming to Warsaw (various articles and interview with activist from Warsaw); different info about NoBorder activities; "Vote Putin or Die" - interview with Russian activist after presidential elections in Russia; International Conference "Media and Xenophobia"; "Social explosion in Eastern Slovakia"; (sub)cultural pages; Anarchist Black Cross reports from Russia and Poland; **Anti-NATO activities in Hungary and Turkey**; Anti-fascist report from Poland; Various shorter texts about situation in Chechnya; **Report from Latvia**; report from Autonomous Action conference; Columns by our correspondents (this time: Laura and Pavel); and much more stuff !

issue # 16 - June 2004: "so the bull-fist is more visible now" editorial article; interview with activists from Serbia before PGA conference in Belgrade; Workers protests in Poland; **East-European Mayday**; **NATO-summit in Istanbul** (interview); Slovakstudents protests; NoBorder activities reposts; (sub)Culture pages; **Statement by ASI concerning outburst of violence in Kosovo**; New Romanian Indymedia; **European Economic Forum in Warsaw - report and sum up**; Unnoticed News; **Anti-fascist struggles in Russia**; ABC-Moscow reports; Situation in Uzbekistan; Columns; Announcements; Communities in Struggle; Upcoming events and more!

issue # 17 - September 2004: "Where do we get 25 black pyjamas now?" - minutes from ABB meeting in Belgrade; **Council of Europe Summit - towards a citizens' critique of the EU conference**, statement from Warsaw; **Interview with anarchist from Bosnia & Herzegovina**; **NESCAFÉ boycott** in Poland; Zero tolerance reached Slovakia already; **Anarcha-Feminism in Belarus**; No Culture Without Subculture - Belarus; Ukrainian Students on the streets; **Intview with ANFEMA** anarcha-feminist group from Croatia; Report from Ex-Yugoslavian Anarchist Meeting at Zeelenkovac; **Radical Ecological Protest Campaign in Perm of Russia** - chronology of actions; A place under the sun - movement against urban densification in Moscow; 190th Anniversary of Mikhail Bakunin; **Personal account from anti-NATO counter-summit in Istanbul**; Letters, Columns and more!

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BESLAN: CATALISATOR OF CREEPER UPHEAVAL IN RUSSIA

War in Chechnia have long time ago became for Kreml the habitual way of realization and reproduction of power!

While in Autumn 2004 many people in Russia, Eastern Europe and all the world heard about Beslan, official Russian channels were presenting the situation in such way as the Russian people could not catch the obvious connection to war in Chechnia, which has been going on for almost 10 years.

ment of Russian internal politics, and an instrument of realization of authority.

For argument of it we want to show how the present president of Russia came to power.

So his position was risen with the help of second (in the 20th century) Russian-Chechnian war. This war itself starts to be "popular" after a few explosions of block of flats in Moscow, Volgodosk, and Buinaksk. Before this, for a majority of the people the news from North Caucasus was just routine. It is because the war was going on already since autumn 1994, the time when the first Russian Chechenian war started.

The explosions in blocks of flats showed to Russian people, that this war was taking place not only far away in the South and it needed new men to be called up for military services in the Caucasus, but it was coming "straight" to everyone's home all around the country. People felt real fear (you go to sleep, but don't know if you will wake up or not) so they immediately wanted have a strong defender, and this face appeared in Putin, still only prime minister, but a real defender!

And program of his was short, but corresponding: *We will hunt the terrorists everywhere we find them, hunt them till death. If we find them of the toilet - they will die right there.*

And people liked this (or was it just that the official media tried to portray people as liking this idea?) Putins ratings crept up.

HOW PUTIN WAS ELECTED THE FIRST TIME

In the moment when Putin became prime minister in Summer 1999 he was an unknown official in the KGB structure. His first months in the chair of prime minister did not increase this popularity. One of the first public polls have showed that Putin had only 2% of support of the population.

SO WHAT IS THIS WAR ABOUT ?

The Russian president and government call it: action against terrorists, struggle for integrity of Russia, against separatism and world terrorism.

Chechenian separatists version - this is war for independence and freedom.

Marxist (Trotskyists, Communists and so on) call it war for oil. But usually it's not more precise than this.

We want to show that war in Chechnia is one of important, but also quite common place instru-



In the begining everybody thought that this war is really *successful*, "without blood", and that Russian soldiers are like liberators. Also the factual information about human victims e.g. explosion of the bomb on the market in the centre of Grozny, was just "missed" by the official media. But when Russian troops advanced deeper into Chechnia, there was more and more understanding of the real situation. Even with the help of the official media, public support for the war dropped - in summer 2000 there was left just one half-independent channel (NTV) and some newspapers which did not present government line. Putin then decided to bring nearer the elections. Yeltsin then resigned, and by Russian Federation constitution new elections were held in March 2000.

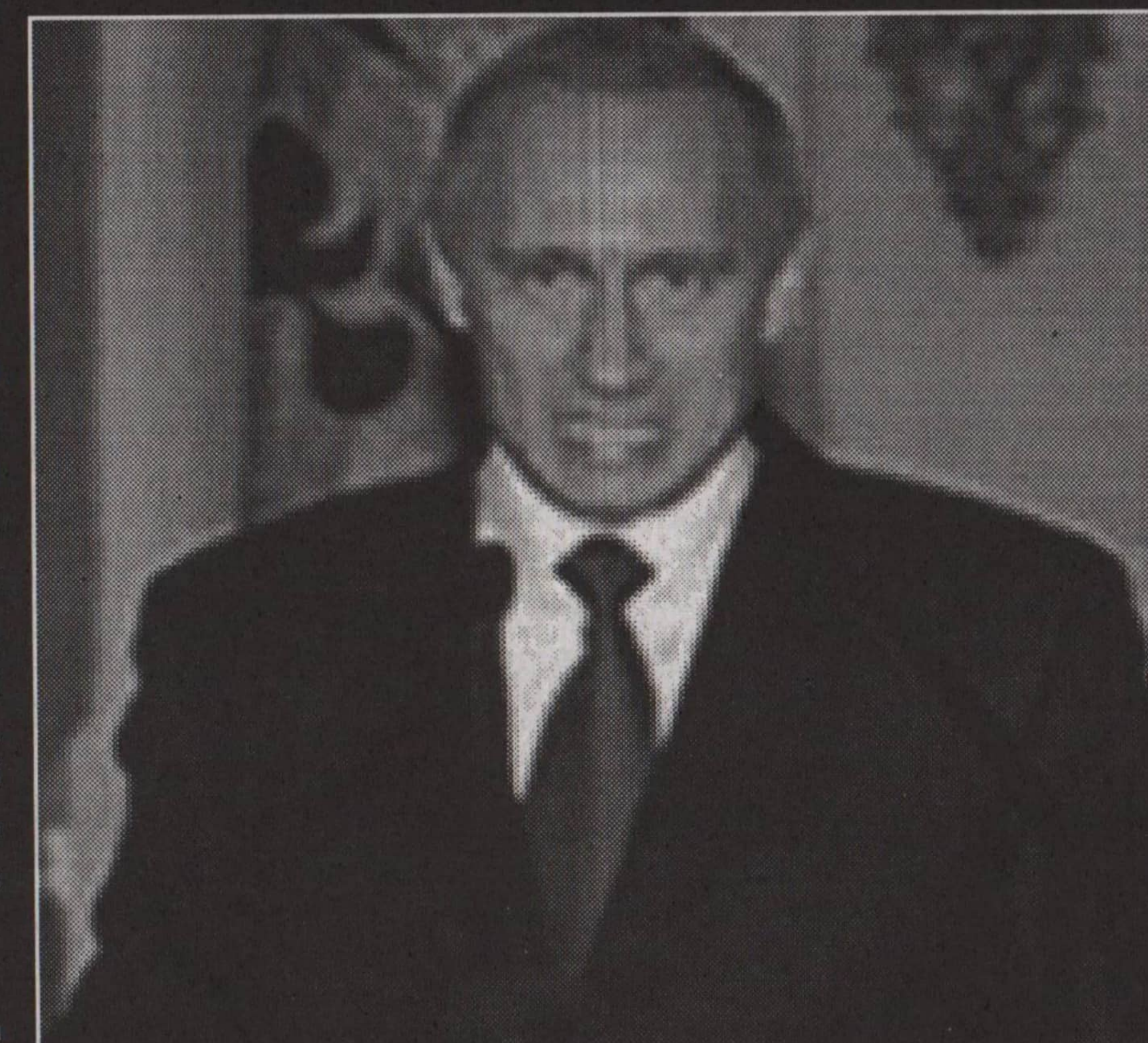
In the begining opposition to Putin's war was large. 2-3 times in a week meetings against war took place in Moscow, but what happened (or did not happen?): Putin was elected in first tour. The wonder happened: less than half a year before he had only 2% of the public's support and now more than 50%!! In any event Putin came to power under the banner of winning against separatism and terrorism.

PUTINS FIRST TERM

Putin started his presidential cadence with politics which had not much to do with preventing the terrorism and separatism but it appeared as preparations of backgrounds for future authoritarian regime. He starts with consequently elimination of his enemies.

SUFFOCATION OF INDEPENDENT PRESS

The press criticised, and tore off his halo. When we are talking about the press we bear in mind mostly TV because newspapers are only



the second most important media source, and internet in Russia is not commonly used.

Putin cleaned public television thoroughly: After some machinations with shares of NTV (one half independent telechannel) changed all journalists and now they are loyal to Putin (government). But for some regions of Russia it was no matter, because they still receive only two federal TV channels controlled by government from the very beginning.

In these days we can call only one radiostation oppositional (which is mostly heard only in Moscow and St.Petersburg), and one newspaper, which is printed 2 times in a week with 0.5 million circulation. This may not look small, but in Russia lives over 140 million people! Also a few oppositional newsletters, but they have no real influence.

The press in fact is suppressed. Publishers and sponsors are intimidated, banished out the country or imprisoned.

SUPPRESSION OF POLINITIATIVE OF "OLIGARCHS"

Putin took from Yeltsin hands Russia with a strong oligarchian influence. What do we have today? Gusinskij banished, Berezovskij banished, Chodorovskij, who publicly declared what he want stay in Russia, imprisoned.

More or less about their political ambitions declared only four "oligarchs" - Gusinskij, Berezovskij, Chodorovskij, Abramovich.

Gusinskij was deprived of NTV channel and his publishing house and was banished from the country.

Berezovskij, when he stopped to be loyal to Putin had to leave

Russia under the threat of arrest.

Abramovich, he was elected to the Chukotka governorship, but when he started to feel heat, betrayed his football team and lives in London now.

Chodorovskij- he give financial help for some oppositional parties and publicly declared his candidature for the presidential elections in 2008. He did not want to go abroad, and as a result now he is more than one year in prison.

All other oligarchs understood that it is not the best time for them to have something together with opposition nor in general with politics in Russia now.

However this undertood just big oligarchs, while the smaller ones where still interesting in participating in structures of power. For these ones there was made a new law from the Duma: if somebody will take from bank account more than 20,000\$ in cash, the bank will close all accounts and owner will be

checked: maybe he has something association with terrorists! This law was made because they don't want anybody to finance some oppositional newspapers or small parties.

CHECKING IN BIG OPPOSITIONAL PARTIES

Putin felt the threat from these partys side, so against them was conducted a succesful combination of new measures.

At first the Duma adopted the law for 7% barrier for parties which want to enter parliament. After this, some oppositional parties had less chances to be a part of parliament.

The second step was to introduce the 10,000 quantity for parties to enter the Duma. Again only federal parties had to reach this number. After the Beslan tragedy the Duma are thinking about a 50,000 or 100,000 quantity. No one liberal or radical party can have such an amazing number of members.

The next step of violence on "sharing the power" were elections to parliament in 2003. After this election it begun the cleaning of Duma from the strong parties and in theirs places came "Kremlin parties", the old and the new ones. In KPRF (the communists) place came same shit called MOTHERLAND (pseudo-leftists and hurrapatriots) but with Kremls support. In JABLOKO place - LDPR (zirinovskij party). Liberal-Party place took UNITED RUSSIA - totally under presidential and governmental control.

The general demoralisation of Russian parties describe following example: In spring 2004 one of the anarchist groups was called per phone in their office by someone from ex-big liberal party and straight asked to become some youth wing of them. Anarchists refuse. They phone again: *You misunderstand us, we have a lot of*

money. Anarchists hang up the receiver. The party tried one more time: Listen, you don't understand, we have VERY VERY much money. It will be suffice for all of you. The anarchists said no again, and this people start to search of luck in another place.

PUTINS SECOND TERM: CREEPER COUP D'ETAT

Kreml started to reform Russia, but these reforms were very far from standart European forms of democracy, so Kreml needed some arguments to legitimize its decisions. At exactly this time the tragedy in Beslan happened what was very helpful for their plans. The



President of Russia made a political use of the shock caused by death of hundreds of childrens. He declared urgent state reform, which is really necessary for fight with terrorists.

Firstly was declared for abrogation elections of governors. Now Putin will appoint them by himself.

BUT IT HAPPENED AFTER THE BESLAN.

SO WHAT WAS BEFORE?

Putin's regime prepare more than 100 antisocial laws. It foresaw

abrogation of free travel on local transport for pensioners, abrogation of free medicine for chronical patients, abrogation of privileges for ex-political prisoners of the times of Soviet Union, abrogation of free help for the people who worked in Chernobyl, abrogation of students stipends, and so on. ALL of these new laws were adopted very fast in this summer.

There were no big protest activities: peoples actually did not understand what happened: State TV reviewed these changes in their own perspectives and during the summer majority of pensioners don't watch TV, they are almost all outside of the towns, growing vegetables for winter. Society will realise what happened only after 1 January 2005 when the laws go into effect. This will likely be the only time we could expect mass protests.

AND WHAT ABOUT CHECHNIA?

Independent press is now mostly liquidated, oppositional parties are very weak, in parliament the majority is obedient, and now the government is under Kremls control.

Under constant propaganda for necessity of the fight against terrorism the cleaning of all political space (press, parties, sponsors-oligarchie and at the end the parliament itself) in Russia is taking place. Each time when Kremls authority has political problems, then like a scary toy the problem of Chechen terrorism was swowing up.

When in autumn 1999 to nobody known polititian (Mr. Putin) needed to became a president level, we saw the serie of blocks of flats exploding in Russian cities.

When there was need to suffocate free TV, very to that point the capture hostages in "Nord Ost" thea

ter have happend.

Shortly before second Putins elections - explosion in Moscow underground.

To hide negative effects of antisocial laws, Beslan was used.

So even not taking in consideration the Chechnya problem, everything have been prepared for effective supress of any possible peoples' protest in the future. The only problem are professional cadres who should carry into effect this repression.

For that reason future guard of this society is learning in Chechnia now:

Special police forces (OMON) get priceless experience. Experience of tortures, experience of kidnappings and secret murders. There is no place for conscience in WAR, so there is as well no place for conscience at home - in 89 administative regions of Russia.

The Personnel is ready, and they don't stop before repression, they just waiting for order.

The issue of Chechnia will cover everthing: breaking humans rights, political freedom, corruption, secret services and business mixing - now, more than half of the political elite of Russia are peoples from ex-KGB, and they still searching for new places where the profit is biggest, and so on.

War in Chechnia have long ago became for Kreml habitual way of realization and reproduction of power!

vera bredova
ivan bazarov
Moscow



We all are hostages of inhumane power! ANARCHIST ACTION AGAINST STATE TERROR IN MOSCOW

We all are hostages of inhumane power! Let us free ourselves!

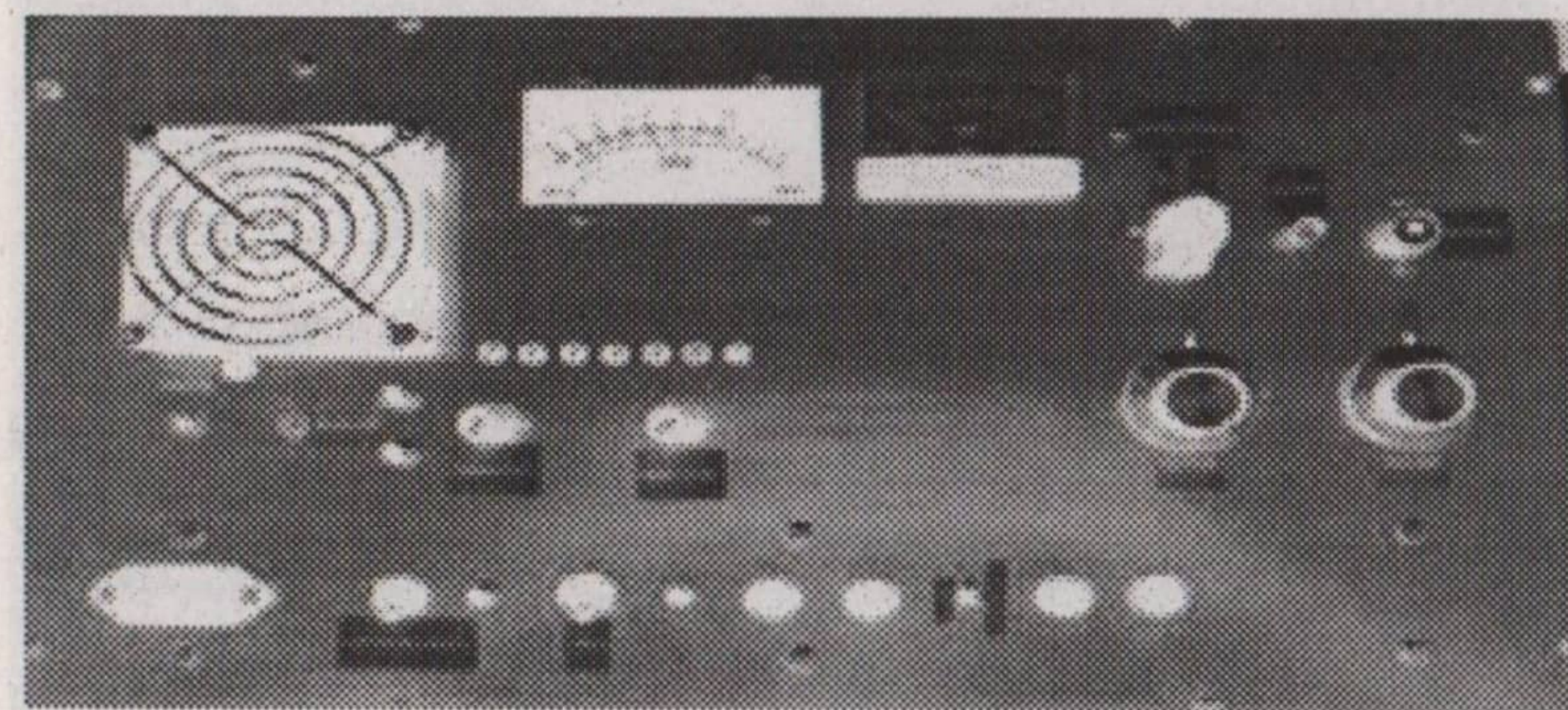
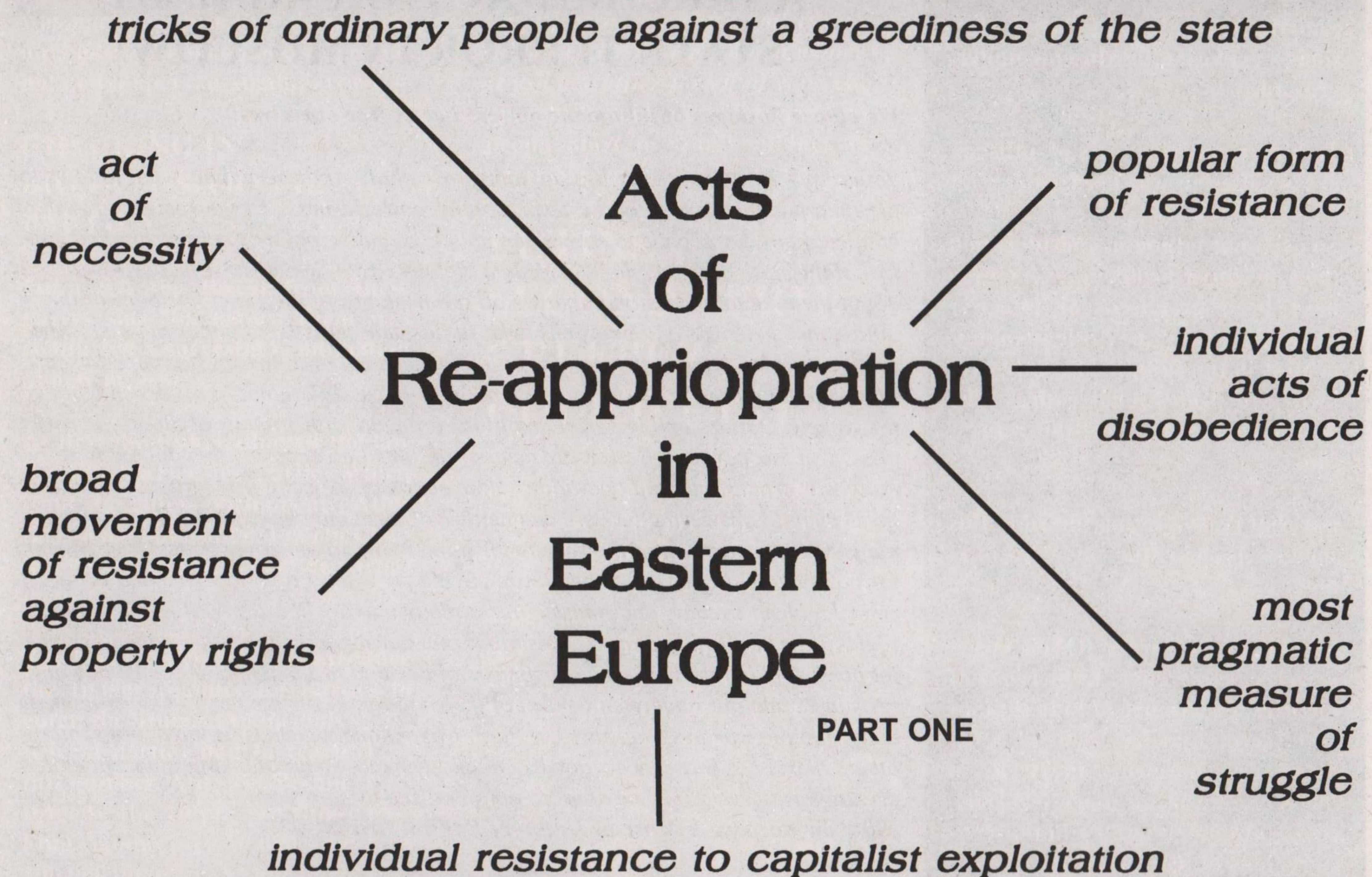
Yesterday - Nord-ost, today Beslan, tomorrow what? And every time, what follows the nightmare is the same: fear, hysteria, apathy, powerlessness - in the society, growth of ethnical hatred and calls to strenghten police executive powers, censorship and control of the state over people. We are in a vicious circle, which must be destroyed! It is about the time to understand, that we all are hostages of the state, hostages of the politicians, generals and oligarchs, who fulfill their selfish and imperial goals, who spit on the blood and suffering of people in Chechnya and Russia. It is time to see, that what happened is due to fact that politics in Russia are not at all dependent from the society. Dollars and imperial ambitions are paid with streams of blood. Terrorists attacks in Moscow and Beslan are echo of the war in Caucasus, they follow from daily war crimes, mop-up operations, destruction of peaceful inhabitants. State terror gives birth to answering terror - and neither of them may be justified. Tragedy which happened is a payment of the society for blind belief to the government, a payment for passivity and ignorance. We all are paying for crimes of politicians and army officers! Ignorant tiredness and limiting our already narrow liberties will not be an exit. Exit will be abolishing our role as statists and marionets of the state, leaving shameful passivity, and throwing away hypnosis of lies and propaganda. We must began resistance and put society on control of the situation in the country, we must immediately stop the war in Caucasus! Let Putin wage alone war in Chechnya, not sending others there! Let Basayev occupy Kreml and Duma instead of taking innocent children to hostages! It is their quarrel, not ours! Let us stop them!

Rainbow Keepers & Moscow Union of Radical Artists

Gouvernement organised demonstrations 7th of September in various Russian cities with theme "Russia against terror. Together we will be victorious!". Various celebrities were inviting people to meetings in television every half an hour, and in several cities all mobile phone users got spam SMS messages. Moscow demonstration was officially organised by pro-gouvernement FNPR trade union and independent from executive powers, but it is little doubt who really paid the bills.

Anarchists from Rainbow Keepers, Moscow Union of Radical Artists and other groups decided to join Moscow demonstration, especially since it was organised in an exceptionally suitable place, right next to the residence of the leading terrorist of Russia in Kreml. Many workers and students were sent to demonstration during working hours (although no doubt many came on their own as well), so demonstration gathered tens of thousands of people. 130 000 claimed by officials may be an exaggeration, but 100 000 would not be an unrealist number. At least 4000 police and besides them conscripts were organised for security, we had to pass 3 security checks in order to get to meeting. (...) First we saw some orthodox christian fundamentalists, and we went to raise our banner in front of them in order to annoy them. But there our banner was not really visible, not to talk about placates, so we moved close to exit from the square towards Kitay-Gorod. This was an excellent place, since hundreds, perhaps thousands of people saw our placates when leaving the demonstration. Some did not agreed with us a lot, and a couple of times a fight was near. Cops managed to grab our banner and tear down few placates, but one of the arrested was de-arrested and two others liberated themselves. (...) There were plenty of far-right people around, in Kitay-Gorod we saw a bunch of boneheads. This day their messages was not much different from the mainstream. We did not paid much of attention to speeches, but every third word seemed to be "derzhava" (superpower) or "pobeda" (victory). (...) Although state was obviously up for a patriot show-off, big part of the people were there more for sorrow than for a fight. I would guess some people would be even disappointed for the event, they came with candles but in the end officials were playing militarist marching music. Some critical banners besides ours were around ("Putin, you promised to flush them down from the toilet, now they are flushing us"), few people came to shake our hands and to ask when the next anti-war action will happen. We distributed around 700 copies of the leaflet below, and several hundred leaflets of the anarcho-syndicalists.

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Radio Hooligans History of the pirate radio in USSR and CIS

My article is about Free Operators - they are also called radio hooligans, or radio pirates. I will try to tell who are they and from where did they-sprunged from.

Illegal radio transmitters have been around in the ether for a long time. This is obvious for example from the fact that for ages there has been an international radio code, UNLNS, which stands for an illegally active transmitter. Reasons for appearance of UNLNS's on the waves have been many, but that is not theme of this article.

Everything began in the end of the 50's. Back then, a conclusion was made that in order to increase harvest of corn it was necessary to seize one of the frequency ranges of Soviet radio ama-

teurs. This was range of 160 meter wavelength. This range was given to Ministry of Agriculture, and radio amateurs were given a chance to register again and leave the range. Many followed this order, but some could not for different reasons. Others were offended for such a despotism which they took as a personal insult, and decided to keep their range. They changed their official call-signs, such as RB5AB to more original ones, such as Serpantin, Resonance, Success and so on. So one could hear in the ether "To all Free Operators - this is Jolly Roger! Who may hear me - let me know! So here we go! In high style, one may declare that radio pirate flag was raised over country of builders of Communism!

Agricultural transmitters consi-

dered disturbance by former operators of the range as a problem. In 1957 Ministry of Communications organised a special service for controlling the ether, these were small groups of 2-4 person in regional centres for administration of communications. Further on, this service was named as State Inspection of Electrical Communications (GIE). Putsch of the range began. In order to catch "NDP's" (Illegally Functioning Transmitters), special direction-finders were worked out. Usually fate of a "radio violator" was confiscation of equipment and a fine - but there were also cases of more serious criminal persecutions.

For security reasons, radio pirates had to move to middle wavelengths. Radio piracy moved to next level, since

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now Free Operators could be listened with a normal household radio.

I tried for a long-time find name or call-sign of the person, who invented scheme which became classical radio-hooligan "hand organ". This scheme allowed transformation of usual lamp receiver to a two-way middle wavelength radio station. Scheme is so simple, that any 5th grader may work it out. And that was done! A wave of young, active school kids, for whom "hand organ" became their first own construction, joined the movement. And their enthusiasm makes sense. Books published back then for beginner radio amateurs proposed to start from building a a detector receiver, or in the best case a detector with direct amplification Who how could that be of interest, if you already had a modern radio? But now you may make your own radio station! That is nothing you may buy, it is already something INTERESTING! And still, in some provincial Russian cities there are disturbances in middle wavelengths even daytime. "Hand organ", just as 40 years ago, is a means of communication where there is no internet, nor telephone, and income may be 200-300 roubles (6-10 \$) a week.

Radio hooligans splitted into two classes: "Long distance drivers", with powerful transmitters for connections of thousands of kilometres, and "organ grinders", transmitting in area of one locality. We use these terms further on in this article, although in some regions other definitions and terms were used. Main activity of "organ grinders" was to "drive music". This activity was met with a popular demand! It is not a secret, that Soviet radio was not really pampering listeners with a diversity of repertoire. There was a big deficit of tape recorders. And here we have some "Commissar" or "Little smoke" transmitting for example latest Western hits or half-banned songs of Vysotsky. One could take a simple "transistor" and relax in the nature with modern music.

Power, of course, tried to do what it could with radio hooligans. Illegal construction and use of transmitters qualified to statue 206 of Criminal Codex of Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics (hooliganism) - punished from fine of 50 roubles to 1.5 years of imprisonment. Since radio pirates were accused

in accordance to this statue, an unknown-journalist invented the neologism "radio hooligan". But it is not that Free Operators were behaving badly in the ether! Even posters calling to hand radio hooligans over to officials were distributed, but thanks to "organ grinder" music, public opinion was in side of the hooligans. Repressive measures did not give much results.

Some Free Operators were caught, but they appeared like mushrooms after rain. Many appeared in the waves again after being busted the first time.

"Organ grinders" developed to "long distance drivers", and were replaced by new beginner enthusiasts. If in "organ grinder" ether during years there was only rotation of cadres and musical repertoire was changing, "long distance drivers" were developing. They moved from middle wavelengths back to "intermediates", from where they were once pushed away by corn growers.

During seventies, when national economy was rapidly occupying ranges of 33-57 and 150-170 MHz, "long distance drivers" stucked to their range for good. As an answer to a traditional hooligan greeting "Have a kilowatt for an antenna!" one could hear response "I already have more!". And what people were chatting about in the ether? About almost everything! How one got piss drunk day before, jokes of various levels of correctness - only politics was avoided, that was how the times were. Statue 206 was bad enough, so nobody wanted to get busted with additional anti-soviet charges! But most often people were comparing equipment apparatus, antennas, long distance connections were made (in limits of the Soviet Union), there was competition on whose transmitter was strongest and of the best quality.

Gradually, pirates adopted an etiquette of transmission without curses



in the ether, topics were almost the same as among radio amateurs (mostly about gear), difference was the spirit of free ether. Surprisingly, radio hooliganism was stirred up by the state itself. Like before, for registration of a call-sign you had to collect a pile of papers from your workplace, to write an auto-biography, to join DQSAAF (this was obligatory) and so on. You had to wait at least half year until all the paperwork with your application was finished. And in the beginning permission was given only for building or acquiring a transmitter, permission to use it was given later on. All these conditions nurtured mushrooming of radio hooligans.

Year 1980 became historical for radio hooligans. Year, when instead of a promised final transfer to Communism, soviet citizens were given the olympic games of Moscow. Powers figured out that all the repressive measures had failed, and made a sort of curtsy giving frequency range of 160 meters back to radio amateurs. This way they hoped to get rid of radio hooliganism. They supposed that Free Operators would rush to register their transmitters. Radio amateurs of this newly opened range were even reserved a special new series of call-sings which began with letters EZ, since powers expected that there would not be enough call-signs otherwise! But it did not happened quite like powers wished. Some for sure left the movement, but most refused to "get orderly". Everybody had their own

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reasons for this. Many just did not want to change their personal call-sign, such as "Monday", "Star" or "Serpantin" to EZ-something. People were not willing to give up radio liberty, or to cut force of their antennas of several kilowatts down to accepted limit of 5 watts. And application of a registration was as tedious and lengthy process as before.

In Ukrainian villages, where every other kid had some kind of transmitter, and dad had a gun in hayloft and ammunition in a tub with suet, mobile radio control units were driving around investigating 160 meter frequencies, demonstrating radio transmission from loudspeakers. People gathered around these units, and to demand "give your passport, we will write you permission right here and you will be free", people answered "We are free cossacks and we do not surrender to a census". That was for real - all-soviet radio hooligan Gulay Polye was not giving up its freedom! It became clear, that power had lost war with the radio hooligans.

1990's were not only about collapse of the Soviet Union, but also gave radio hooligans some new opportunities. For example, an opportunity to buy military and imported short-wave radiostations. During these years, Free Operators did not only seized new frequencies (some ranges of short waves), but also some ways of previously inaccessible modulation, such as SSB - as well as the new CB range (27 MHz) range which was opened during these years.

Instead of a transmitter modified from a granny's old radio, people acquired now accessible modern transistors and micro-schemes. Radio-hooligan of 21st century is not anymore "organ grinder" of 60's and 70's. He is much better equipped, facing no other limitations but the financial ones. In one and the same frequency one may meet most different gears, one may have an imported converter of few thousand dollars, someone has a military station, someone has developed one-lamp transmitter to perfection, someone has a self-made gear which does not lose in quality to imported or military technology.

In parallel with "new Russians",

"new radio-hooligans" appeared, bus cursing in the ether and purposely disturbing radio communications. They are a problem especially in the CB range. This something quite different from the days of "organ-grinders", whose musical program was listened with a pleasure! And even the dirty songs "organ-grinders" used to transmit at times, accompanied with an accordion, did not annoy people too much - quite a contrary.

Discussions about technical problems connected with construction of antennas and amplifiers have their point - they prove competence of of a hooligan and also help others to develop their capacities. But in difference from radio amateur frequencies where chat seldom goes further from that, in hooligan frequencies there may be discussions of several hours about everything - from prizes of potatoes to politics (now it is allowed), religion, and any other themes which are considered taboo by regiments of radio connect-



tions. And usually radio pirate is nothing else but a radio amateur, who does not want to submit to certain rules, which he consider as limiting his freedom and creativity. Radio hooligans believe, that radio amateurs should not be limited by regulations of the bureaucrats, since with such regulations it would not be any real hobby anymore.

Radio hooligans have no leaders, nor hierarchies. During all the time of their existence they have been persecuted, but they never disappeared! There is certain romance in it, from where the attraction comes as well. Due to lack unifying centres and strict rules, everything is still developing and alive. Only limitation of

this hobby are general moral principles and some standards, which have been established during decades. A real pirate never works in a radio amateur range with his pirate call-sign such as "Klen" or "Barmaley", and not in any case he will transmit in range of emergency services.

Today, state has practically forgot about hunting down illegal transmitters in short and middle wavelengths. Agricultural industry has not used these wavelengths since the collapse of the Soviet Union, and navy uses them very seldom. Radio control is more worried about illegal wireless phone extension cords, which work in ultra-short wavelengths.

Radio pirates are known abroad as well, but differently from radio hooligans of the former Soviet Union, it is more about broadcasting than about exchange. In Europe and USA radio pirates have more developed gear, mostly amateur and professional converters. Many of them know each other and are connected by internet. Even common events are organised, for example, operators agree with each other to broadcast to a chosen frequency during a certain period of time, one station sends pirate tunes for a couple of hours until it will be turn of the next one in the relay. This way one may hear pirate stations in this frequency during the whole day!

For sure, illegal broadcasting has been practiced here as well. I already wrote about "organ grinders", pirate broadcasters appear regularly in ultra-short wavelengths, there has also been attempts of pirate TV broadcasting. Radius of such transmitters is limited to one locality. But at times one may also hear "long distant drivers" broadcasting in short wavelengths.

So, that's all folks for now. Only thing to remind is that radio hooliganism is a crime, which is punished according to Criminal Codex, either with a fine from 10 to 1000 minimal wages, or with a prison sentence of up to 6 months.

ALEKS

written for *Avtonom* #23,

translated (with edition) for

Abolishing the Borders from Below #18

RE-APPROPRIATION IN EASTERN EUROPE



*"The state will try to call you
an irresponsible criminal ...
... whereas capitalist greed
is always justified away"*

Forced Payment Resistance and Ticket Action

Laure; Warsaw - Poland

FORCED PAYMENT RESISTANCE

Although not a form of reappropriation, Forced Payment Resistance is a radical form of direct action which can, in many ways, be more risky for activists to participate in. The type of forced payment resistance that some of our people are involved in is tax resistance, social security resistance, fine resistance and certain payment resistance (for example, the TV tax which they call a "fee" here but is really a tax).

Tax resistance is not always possible in situations where employers have obligations to withhold your tax but it is something which we advocate strongly for working class people who are in a position to control their payments. (These include self-employed people and also a growing army of people not hired on full-time contracts.) Some (so-called) anarchists in this town support taxation, either by contradictory political demands or by conscious choice. They argue that without obligatory taxation, there would be no money for the poor because nobody would think of social welfare if somebody (the state) didn't force them to. Fucking sad as hell. It's just not true that if we didn't pay taxes there would be less money in the budget for things like health care. We have no say over what they do with the money that's there. Poor people have a larger burden in terms of what losing part of their income means and, although some people benefit in some way from social services provided by the state, it's a poor substitution for smashing capitalism and controlling the wealth they help create by direct democracy.

They spend more of this money on anti-social shit and bureaucracy than people - it's total bullshit to defend this

system and, actually, very few people will actually say it works well. Most normal people wanna reform it cause they can't imagine any other way but we try to convince them that the politicians are the criminals, not the tax resisters, who are just stopping people from misusing the money they worked for.

In the current economy, more and more employers are trying to shift the tax burden off themselves and onto the employees by hiring them on short-term contracts or even insisting they register their own businesses and subcontract to their employers. (It's of course illegal but is widely practiced.) In this case, it is even clearer that workers are being screwed because they are being told that when bosses avoid paying taxes, thus increasing their profits, it's healthy because it encourages them to give jobs, etc. bla, bla. (As if they really reinvest the difference into more jobs.) We respond that when you don't pay your taxes, your more likely to aid the economy than such a capitalist pig because even if you spend it the difference in the local pub, you'll be helping the local economy more than the pig. The state will try to call you an irresponsible criminal, but it's a capitalist double-standard that workers being greedy is "unrealistic", "anti-social" and "bad for the economy" whereas capitalist greed is always justified away. So we find that there are more and more people actually able to try this form of resistance and we're out to encourage this.

The same is true for social security resistance. We don't buy this bullshit that what we pay now helps little old ladies. The state misused the money the old ladies paid into the system and they pay them with our money, and the next

generation will have to pay us... It's a never-ending system which allows the state and capitalists to lend itself money. We're all better off putting that money in our mattress - at least we won't be supporting workers' oppression like retirement funds which stick all your money in big corporations. Or making our own funds which we can run ourselves. Again, not every person can participate in this form of resistance because employers and the state steal your money.

Experience in tax resistance varies but we know of cases of total refusal and partial refusal which were successful.

Fine resistance means that either you got caught for example posterizing or on the bus without a ticket and just ignore the fine or that the court sentences you to a fine and you just say fuck you. Again, experience with this varies, but the law here is that if the collectors cannot get payment from you within, for example, 3 years, they can no longer claim this money. So many people can wait it out. Unfortunately, such limitations are not placed on the tax authorities. I'm not sure about court-imposed fines but I suppose also those fines don't "disappear". Still, we say don't pay and fight til you're in a corner. Many people have shitloads of fines that just will never be paid.

Finally, other obligatory payments... One of the people in our group (the bravest and boldest objector we know) is fighting with the garbage people. He wants to make composte, recycle, burn... anything but use the city dump and its services. The garbage service is crap. We have a major problem with recycling. Maybe a good action to spread. None of us are on rent strike but we should be

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cause they just take money and never repair anything. That's the kind of thing we encourage on a large, organized scale. You gotta get a whole building, or at least a number of tenants behind it. We're gonna agitate people. And TV. What crap. Even people who don't watch the "publically funded" station (which actually is a normal station) are required to pay a tax. The Constitutional Court ruled it was unconstitutional but that people still had to pay this fee. Many people don't pay it but they're trying to crack down on out-law citizens. This payment may not be extremely important in the big picture, but we will also agitate against it, especially as the state starts sending little people around to us to get this TV money. In short, not paying is a political act of resi-

stance which we need more of!

TICKET ACTIONS

In some cities in Poland, people give their bus tickets to other passengers so they don't have to pay a fare themselves. This is done on different scales in different cities and often is not done in an organized way. Anarchists in Lublin did a campaign encouraging this practice which went quite well.

In Warsaw, stickers went up telling fare evaders that they should be ashamed because because of them, ticket prices go up. We try to fight against this propaganda, explaining that without direct public control over spending, we have no way to even know if there is really a problem with transport money or not. Probably not. Millions of zloties are

wasted yearly in corruption and overpaid contracts. For example, during last year's anti-summit, we saw an enormous bill that the public transportation people claimed was for changing the signs on the bus routes. We did the math and found we could literally do that work ourselves for such a tiny fraction of the cost it was astounding. The hell with paying fares so that public transport bureaucrats can give their friends contracts and themselves big salaries and kickbacks.

In many cities in Poland, anarchists have campaigns against paying for the bus, mostly which (as can be expected), tend to be popular with poor people and get on the nerves of some yuppies.

Laure

Overcoming Greed of the System

"In Poland, those various ways of overcoming greed of the system have their roots in the times of communism, when the great majority of society was forced to invent the solutions which nowadays would never come into people's heads"

by Michu; Torun - Poland

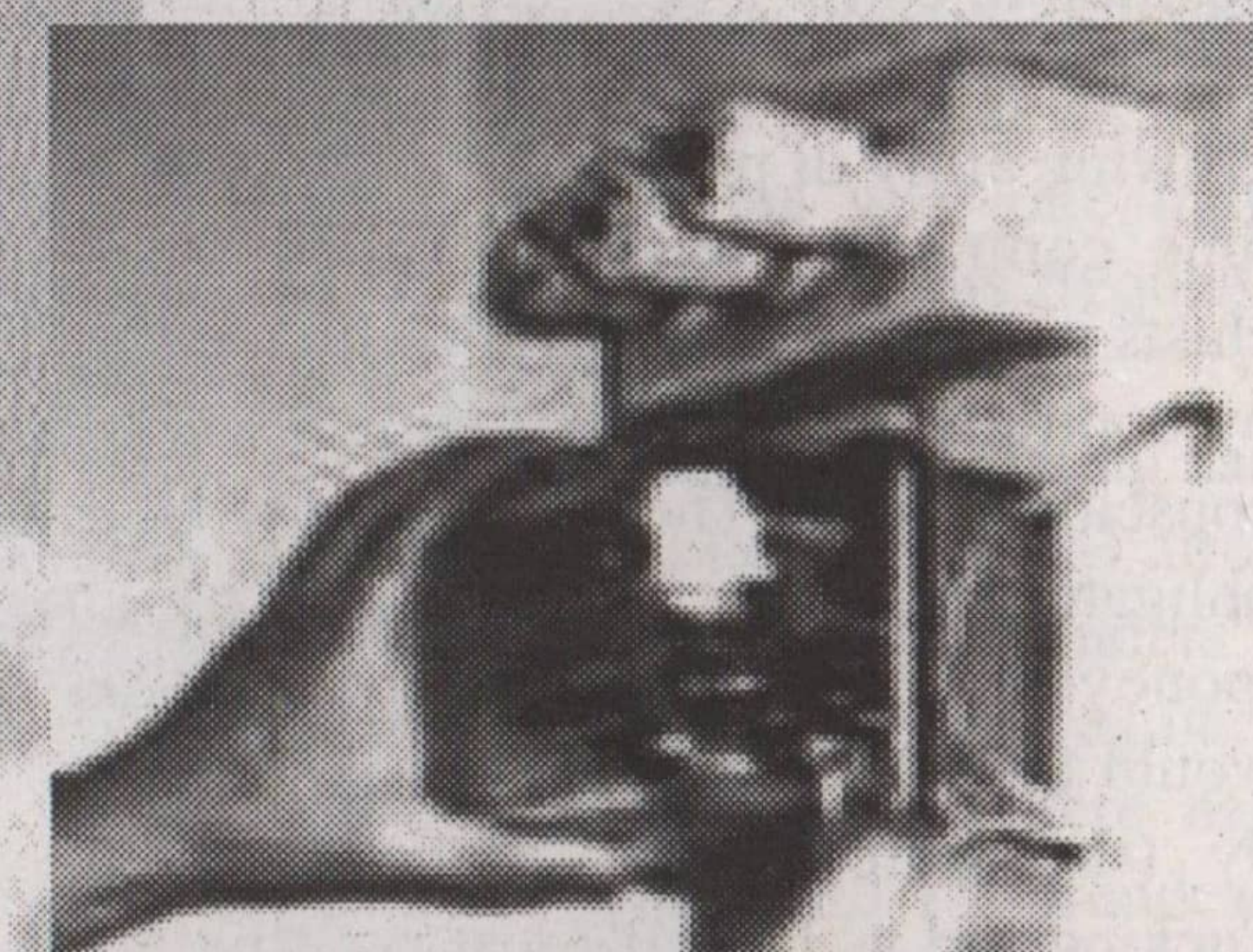
People being completely not connected with the anarchist movement, as a result of hard life conditions, are often forced to solve their daily problems by using the methods which are similar to the ones promoted by anarchists and very welcome by the movement.

I live in a student city and I have spent a lot of time among the students' communities even if I never was a student myself. I noticed pretty frequently the cases of renting flats by groups of students speculating on how to decrease their expenses. One very popular method is the so called "electricity discount". Through simply removing the cables of fuses one can achieve "a discount for electricity" from the energy power plant. The counter is simply not showing any levy of electricity. This kind of "promotion" was sometimes as well taking over the water. In this case the inhabitants were burning through the plastic counter using for that a tiny wire which was finally stopping the counter-hand showing water consumption.

Pretty popular is buying the student identity cards from students in order to adapt them for own needs, thanks to what no-student is allowed to profit from, this time, the official discounts for using public transport.

Yet, let's leave the students More and more cases of occupying the flats by ordinary people take place in our city in Torun. I am not writing here about the famous squat made by homeless people called "Guliwer" (see ABB # 13) but about cases brought recently regular by the local newspapers reporting on families who could hardly wait for the flats from flat-co-operative administration and start to occupied its empty locals, in spite of the fact that this company maintained having no free flats for people. One expects decrease of these kinds of cases in the near future not only in our city. The housing situation in Poland can force many people into that kind of solution.

Another example of out-using the state are situations, when persons living in Torun deregistered themselves



from this city after they lost their job and register themselves in another region of another Labour Office. Torun as a city and region has relatively less unemployment regarding to the rest of the country so there is different system of delivering the benefits. Persons who have worked for minimum one year and lost their job can receive there their doles only for six months, while being register out of Torun - six months longer. The problem sticks in finding a person wanted to register someone like that by him/herself. Usually these people register themselves by their families living out of the Torun region.

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An interesting way was developed in order to avoid paying the fines for free using the public transport. People is being caught and written down are immediately after an accident sending an announcement to the local magazine in which they make known that they lost their documents. When the fine-bill appears, a proper letter accompanied by copy of announcement is send to suitable institution. In this way an image of someone who has found our papers and caught the fine on our account is created. Later one can just say that his ID was sent back home.

These are only some examples of how ordinary people forced through hard material situation are undertaking a reappropriation trying to pick a bit from that what state steals daily from them in the form of taxes. In Poland, those various ways of overcoming greediness of the system have their roots in the times of communism, when the great majority of the society was forced to invent the solutions which nowadays would never come into people's heads.

We can not speak here about any movement identifying itself with these

kinds of behaviours; these are simply various tricks of ordinary people aimed against a greediness of the state. However each stick has actually two ends and we should as well remember, that through travelling on PKP (Polish Railway Company) without a ticket we are somehow taking part in dead-blowing of polish railway, which in spite of being almost dead anyway, is still giving the labour to thousands of people ...

Michu

Who should make re-appropriation fashionable?

by Zaczek; Warsaw - Poland

Many times a discussion has been made about the breaking of property rights as a popular form of resistance. It has been said for example, that people downloading mp3 files from illegal file sharing systems are somehow contributing to a great cause. Examples of such "civic disobedience" are many: tenants refusing to pay rent, people evading taxes and many more of such practices.

In a historical perspective, the sum of such individual small - but consistent - actions can be viewed as a broad movement of resistance against property rights, and i'm sure that some historians will present it that way. This might sound good in a history book that people will read in 50 years, but what does it mean for us? Are those individual acts of disobedience motivated by a clear consciousness of struggle against property, and are the people involved conscious of acting in solidarity in one movement of resistance?

The answer is no - at least as far as I can tell by looking around me. People in Poland that I see breaking the rules of property all the time, people i work with, neighbours and people i know. All i can say is that their motives are purely consumerist: to get as much products to consume and pay as little as possible. The concept of doing it for an idea seems absurd for them. They watch pirate movies and listen to pirate music just because you can get more stuff this way without paying.

It is very important to keep in mind that there is this consumerist logic in the background. This helps to understand that a cheaper capitalist offer, like the commercialized Napster, may be a perfect solution for people who were engaged in piracy for purely consumerist motives. The size of the "pirate" market is just an inefficiency of capitalism. It is something the capitalists will fix, as soon as they will understand this phenomenon. And young people who are active in some kind of lifestyle that accepts re-appropriation for consumerist reasons will have the opportunity to get a well-paying job as marketing advisors.

I don't mean by that that i'm against individual resistance to capitalist exploitation, even if it is motivated only by consumerist urges. It's like the struggle of workers for a pay that makes it possible to buy a TV or a car. I believe that pressure should be made on capitalist exploitation wherever possible. This pressure can slow down the erosion of workers rights, but by itself it cannot stop it. But this pressure can sometimes become an important element. This occurs when the stupidity and arrogance of the government and of the capitalists creates a situation where people who were very moderate in their demands and very liberal in their ideas become suddenly radicalised. This was the case of Ozarow factory (see ABB#8), where people refused to be fired

and organised a blockade of the liquidated factory. The workers themselves said that if the owner fired people little by little, they would be too divided to organize. But the owner was so sure of himself that he fired all at once. That cost him a year-long occupation strike.

So i think that the creation of a lifestyle for re-appropriation is not something really necessary: this lifestyle is created by society itself when it has to find a way out of total poverty. This is how the miners from Silesia* think: if the coal mines were closed and they have no perspectives, then why not take the coal out of the earth illegally? It is not something that they discovered through political activity, it's something that became a necessity. Only the stupidity of the government which is trying to repress the miners for trying to survive on "illegal" coal made them think in a political way: they started demonstrations in Silesia, and some of them participated in the anti-WEF demonstrations in Warsaw.

I think the government and capitalists are the best creators of a fashion for re-appropriation. Their stupidity is our best ally. It's another question totally how to make the government and capitalists as stupid as possible. This would be worth a good study. But that is another subject.

Zaczek

* Check interview on the next pages

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BIEDASZYBY

"In Walbrzych currently lives 130 000 people, unemployment is 55 - 60 %"

"In the city lot of people lives from so - called grey sphere"

"Miners are breaking the law concerning exploitation of natural resources"

INTERVIEW WITH RAFAL QBA JAKUBOWSKI

ACTIVIST FROM LOWER SILESIA - CRISIS REGION OF POLAND

Could you shortly describe the history of Lower Silesia's region and accent the aspects, which influenced present situation as it is?

Recently, during bio-regionalist workshop with young people I brought them to Walbrzych's Rynek (Central Square of each old town). I asked: "Do you know which important event took here place exactly 160 years ago?" None of them knew it. Not only young people, but generally all consumers of mass media have to do only with especially selected kind of information: in place of facts, which have direct influence on life of society, only tepid sensations or some unimportant economically - political details, supposedly from "first hand" are being delivered. Culture got replaced by "culture of information" and consumption race. Most of Walbrzych's inhabitants wouldn't know, if asked, what happened then, because people living in such a culture are taking their knowledge about world from official propagandistic media, which even if very local are always avoiding any hints of information, that could maybe make them doubt in "only right

way" of present system.

In year 1844 inhabitants of Walbrzych hanged here officials of city's council. It was during Weaver's Uprising. From Middle Ages till XVIII century most of population in this region (and especially of Sudety's Mountains) was living from weaver. When in a mid - XIX century capitalism (interconnected as always with industrial revolution) was born, weavers - hand workers had been confronted with mass bankruptcy. Steam machines pushed handwork out of market. In many cities of Silesia Uprising erupted. In Walbrzych, people's anger had been directed against city's officials, which represented interests of industrialists. Army bloodily put down this rebellion, and survivors hid in the woods.

So, it isn't much surprising, that none of newspapers mentions now this history; now when Walbrzych is classical example of neoliberalist expansion into local markets, and town's officials as always are representing interests of investors, from hypermarkets till corporations.

ABB: How is present situation?

In Walbrzych currently lives 130 000 people, unemployment is 55 - 60 %. Regional government got this number from research done by one politician, but because it was too pessimistic,

second research was ordered. So now officially 35 % of unemployment is presented.

Situation in the city is a result of economical and political transformation. After fall down of weavery, in our region mining flourished. After World War 2, the city practically lived from several mines and all connected with them infrastructure. When in beginning of 90's Poland signed agreements with World Bank dealing with "restructurization and modernization of mining industry", Walbrzych was practically sentenced to death.

Now actually works only 10 % of inhabitants, the rests lives from miserable old - people benefits or pensions for ex - miners. Often whole family is supported by one such a benefit. Nobody asks what will happen when these "lucky" pensioners will die ...

Poverty touches hardly children and youth. When we organized few events for kids from poorest neighbourhood, they said that with us, first time in their life they ate real butter and not margarine ..

ABB: How people are surviving? Do you see, despite of obvious frustration and helplessness some creative attempts of finding way out of this situation?

In the city lot of people lives from so - called "grey sphere" which means diverse "illegal" jobs. At least 1000 złomiarzy (collectors of old metals) are operating here, often except of simple collecting they're ripping metal out of diverse machines,

buildings, etc. According to what they say, usually after whole day (or rather night) of work they get 20 zloty (ca. 3, 5 euro). Many of them are homeless; some of them can get fed at Brat Albert (kind of christian charitable shelters serving free meals). Many lives in the woods, me or my friends see often their self-made huts.

Other chance brought fall down of public transportation. In its place lot of individual transport initiatives appeared, but they had been through years bothered and persecuted, forced to buy expensive concessions, pay ridiculous taxes.

And Walbrzych means of course Biedaszyby.

ABB: Could you describe shortly this phenomenon?

Biedaszyby ("Poor's Shafts") - so "illegal" (according to Law) miners, living from digging out coal, that lays very near to the surface. Mostly it is shafts few till several meters deep, from which coal is taken without measures of security in the way the mining exactly looked hundreds years ago. It is risky too - in last few years' ages 3 miners died this way. This activity supports lives of few thousands people, those which dig but also carriers (often children) or owners of small trucks, which sometimes sell it even on other side of country. Miners are breaking the law concerning exploitation of natural resources, so they get in trouble with police and courts, most of them are on probation. Police feels then very powerful, so often rob (confiscates) their coal, discrimination (beatings, harass-

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ments, humiliations) happens regularly. After fall down of mines, many miners tried trade; small shops or markets stalls had been opened. Yet, in beginning of 90's new laws had been introduced in Poland, resulting from GATT Agreement. These laws dealt with duty - free import and in that same time regulations blocking exchange of cheap products with eastern countries had been pushed through. So, both of them hit small vendors and individual trade initiatives, and following expansion of hypermarkets (which entered then devastated by new laws, so fertile for them market) finally killed local small trade.

ABB: Do you think, if this situation rather brought diverse people together or divided them?

Usually in Medias such places like our city are shown as example of helplessness of people. Yet, in fact it is opposite: all initiatives I had mentioned are example of amazing ability to deal with tragic circumstances.

ABB: Except permanent struggle for survival, are there some attempts of creating locally communal structures, which consciously could promote self - organized initiatives that are omitting discredited state's policies?

Unfortunately concerning consciousness of polish society in general and here in particular it is simply bad. It is surprising, how incredible negative turn happened here just in period of some years. In 1980 in Poland self - governing and solidarity had been promoted. Creating of self - governed Poland was wanted, yet betrayal by "Solidarnosc" elites brought bitterness and disappointment to greater part of population. We have to remind, that half of adult citizens belonged to "Solidarnosc", so there was no other such a big movement demanding direct democracy. Feeling of helplessness, aggravated by culture propagating ego-

istic rat race focussed on consumption devastated consciousness of majority. Presently they're all isolated from each other, vulnerable for manipulations of media. Walbrzych itself is probably even worse than average. Most of people here are interested only in material spheres of life. Because, very few had chance really to consume, majority just tries to catch shadows. People seem to be very naive. This year at referendum concerning membership in EU, frequency in Walbrzych was one of biggest in the country: 87 % participated, and 90 % of them were for. So, they didn't notice that they are supporting processes that caused their poverty. Is it symptom of loosing self - preservation instinct or complete hopelessness and lack of hopes? It's hard to say. Anyhow, it isn't good test concerning mental and psychic condition of people. Lack of wider vision concerning local problems is visible also in this, that there is no any organized, social reaction from those which are in trouble themselves: when small traders had been confronted with invasion of hypermarkets they did nothing, they didn't even participated in initiatives organized by us concerning these issues. Then, local rulers, as in rest of country, are feeling free to do anything. Recently only socially active groups are miners of biedaszyby or protest committees organized against project of building quarries in Rybnica Lesna (near Walbrzych) and these committees had been created with our help.

ABB: Do voices of protest and taking things in own hands are expressed also in some other ways?

In our region recent years didn't seen much of protests, only this of Biedaszyby miners, yet also this had to do only with particular issue. Here nobody comes with proposals of cooperation or other attempts that goes beyond begging. There are no any libertarian groups in our region. Left, right or others

don't show any forms of initiating social activities or creating communities. Stupidly to say, but only one such a group is Pracownia na R z e c z Wszystkich Istot (Space for All Living Creatures), formerly Eko Front, that I'm part of...

I don't even know if protests of miners could be called "taking things in own hands" - they're rather attempts of it. And they're just attempts concentrated on improving individual material situation, and not on changing consciousness, society, culture...But maybe there is chance, that even this activities could be first step in direction of bigger changes.

ABB: The communist state policy of '50's - '80's have lead to degradation of environment in Silesia. Neoliberal policy, so simply capitalism of last 15 years, had been focused on degradation of humans themselves, but how it influenced nature or actually its remainings?

Officially we hear that after changing of system, conditions for environment had been improved, even because industry falld down. Yet truth is different. Surely quality of air had improved, but generally poisons had been replaced with other poisons. Agriculture is chemicalized on huge scale, along with new "EU's rules and norms".

More and more genetically modified plants appear. So - called campaign of "reforestation" destroys many unique species of grass, etc. and together with pro-EU agriculture eliminates biodiversity of ecosystems. Masses of toxic waste are brought into Poland, because it is cheap garbage dump here. Also dangerous technologies are imported - waste's incinerators, PVC etc. Law changes are giving more and more opportunities to invade

most valuable and precious ecosystems. Special economical zone had been created in one of local reservations, and there in till now protected nature, factories don't have to follow rules of toxins limitation. People work there in horrible conditions, their health is damaged (Grossmann's factory, BTR). Some factories e.g. Cersanit, Henkel) since years are in "starting phase" just because this status allows them to omit poison's regulations. In order to make already closed mines never re - usable, they had been flooded. Presently, water leaks out of mines into Pelcznica river, so it took colour of sunset and all biological life died there. In that same time media and schools are spreading opinions that worst ecological disasters are caused by Biedaszyby! Their influence on environment is actually minimal: during years of their using few hundred young trees had been cut, yet local Forestry Department accordingly with plans of "forest management" cuts 100 000 trees yearly...

ABB: Do you wish to add something?

I think we have to go on in order to build not movement for revolution (in name of changing flags, symbols, ruling gang or more "equal" distribution) but to build communities and environment that would be based on values different from these, which western technological - materialistic culture has to offer. Otherwise each change would only lead to shifting of leaders...

ABB: Thank you very much for this interview.



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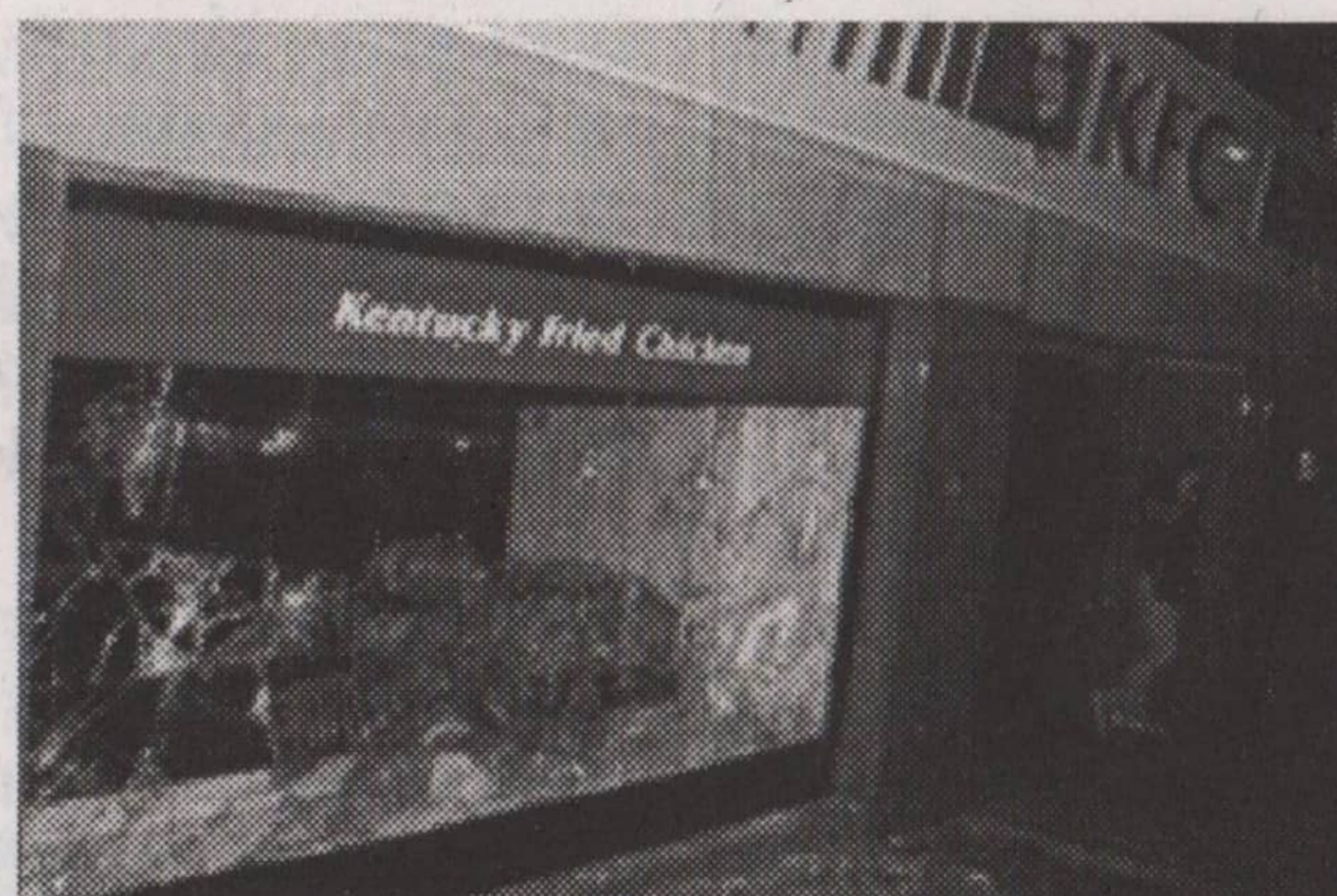
Capitalist hangover
and bad notes from democracy

by Szczury; AbolishingBB

Generally, as I see, in more "primitive" societies (or just these ones not yet entirely consumed by capitalist mentality), doesn't exist this religious almost sanctity of property (especially state's property) and basically it is always a fact for proletarian and all lower classes to hate the oppressor, whether was it king, land owner or modern businessmen as well as to hate Law&Order imposed by them. Through hundreds of years Church was trying to implement in peoples minds obedience towards god but also explained class division as god-given, brainwashing millions, yet fortunately haven't been still able to suppress widely spread, especially among lowest classes generally unbreakable distrust towards riches and their protectors. And fortunately still honest thief or gentelman-mafioso are more preferred hero characters than sleazy neauve-riches or cool cop. Basically all over the world somebody growing up and living in rather poor conditions never has some "moral" problem with taking thing from the riches or state, unless when completely brainwashed by religious or nationalist propaganda starts to believe that perpetrators of his/her misery have another address. If these people are stopped from certain acts than rather by justified fear of juridical consequences (law always serves the riches and punishes the poor severely). Even if average poor don't necessarily celebrate bank robbers, he/she doesn't have either reasons to condemn them only rich and privileged (or those few of the poor, that are so stupidified to identify themselves with values of their own oppressors in known manner of slave mentality) are feeling threatened by people, which expropriate tiny scraps of goods from capitalist treasury. Yes - tiny scraps, because in fact all those small acts, from petty shoplifting till bank robbery are finally only like grabbing the rests from riches table, as real fortunes are so much, seeming almost immaterially imbedded and connected in circulation of capital, that are impossible to be robbed.

And of course only riches and their mediatic and juristic arm will spend so much energy to vilify, persecute and hunt down those which broken holy law of property's monopoly...

Observing "higher developed" western societies, especially all these disgusting social democracies of northern Europe, I think that there much more population identify themselves with the State, because it is enough for them to be its citizens, follow certain rules and state will care for them. In this way State treats them like babies that never should grow up, so they are becoming completely dependent from it, they're more or less born into this dependence through their nationality; so become unable to survive on their own. It's enough to see panic of confronting cruel world in eyes of some young Germans (which never had too much to worry about concerning their existential needs) after they finish their studies... In places where diverse state supports, social services and other similar institutions become almost nonexistent or never properly functioned, people are learning by the way different ways of survival. If you have no much other choices you have to be flexible.



Since childhood I was hearing all around me *zalatwic, nagracy, skombi-nowac, nakrecic...* and all these other words, which are describing vast range of activities having to do shifting objects from one place to the other or organizing certain services, and which usually are beyond strict frame of law, yet even if officially persecuted than socially accepted because needed.

From the times of "realistic socialism", when there was simply lack of certain products till now when there's lack of money to get them, exists so-called "black" market of basically everything. What is even more important, exist whole complicated net of social contacts, structures and connections, that are functional. In some smaller cases whole local networks of neighbourhood solidarity are created, yet of course in most of situations rules of this alternative market are not different from the capitalist mainstream - if you need something always somebody can help you if only he/she gets profit from it. All these stolen goods, falsified products, smuggled articles, "illegal" copies, dodgy sourced stuff, etc. spreading through street markets of EE and Balcans, are breaking monopoly of market, but of course not its logic, as there are simply means of survival. "*Za darmo to mozna tylko w morde dostac*" (For free you can only get one in a face) is in fact as much saying about polish proletarian mentality as all its unmistakably wonderful "organizing things" skills. Yet generally all these mentality which buys second-hand stuff, searches for functionality and utilisability, but not logo; seeking always cheapest ways of survival are very characteristic for our region. Of course, no reason to glorify: for many it is all accompanied by consumeristic desires, and people "organize" things somehow, because they cannot afford them in "normal" way. Still, for millions it is basic need and mean of survival.

Before '89 there was no big economical differences in polish society (and I guess also all over Soviet Block) - yes, there was very small number of riches (mostly Party members) and rather small number of very poor (usually alcoholics), but some 90% of population was more or less on that same level. Amongst some 30 kids in my class at primary school, parents of only one had a car. Father of another girl had car once but only for few days, before they caught

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him. Very strong was mentality of sparing everything: water, gas, electricity, food, that our grandparents learned during war: "don't throw out nothing, everything can be re-used". And there was no any respect for state property: in the communist times we had been taught that we, "the people have the power" - nobody of course believed in it, but everybody tried to scrap something, what anyhow supposedly "belonged to us". At every workplace things been disappearing, sometimes we could sell parts of production or new working clothes already behind factory gate. And there was traded with everything. Everything public was of course in miserable state, as from light-bulb at the staircase to toilet shell in some office building, all these small objects didn't stayed long in one place. But this mentality stayed and I hope will. Recent years more and more stuff gets stolen and is usual to read in newspaper: "Last night in

town X metal bridge disappeared. Unknown persons with welding equipment and big truck cut it into pieces and left. Police investigates the case". And it was spread widely all this small cheating, blocking or slowing electricity counters. And independently from somebody's political opinion, all these "dogs of the state" like cops, but also bus controllers or *komorniks* (scum that comes to evict you or repossesses your stuff for unpaid debts) didn't had high notes as people.

After entering capitalism in '89 first slowly, then last years massively bigger and bigger waves of impoverishment pushed not only lumpenproletariat but also many of till then "honestly" working people and even some of intelligentsia in finding new possibilities - the latter ones having often hard time with adjusting themselves to harsh realities and recently isn't unusual to meet former university professors as they collect bottles or paper

and are homeless. Masses of people started to smuggle, mostly cigarettes and alcohol, mostly to Berlin. Lot of these people, which now are owning firms or businesses started from it. They had been these ones, that learned capitalist lesson fastest, so often after they came back with some cash, started to exploit others. And this can go on and on. Because all these, sometimes amazing examples of lawlessness, all this smart "criminal energy" are in almost all cases very individual acts. Only in some extreme situations (but as impoverishment grows we'll see more of it) people break the law together. And they will. I'm sure. Because this primitive, egoistic (in good way) and sympathetic perception of justice: "Justice is what is just to me" is spread. Because they didn't learned good enough to respect law and order. Potential is there, so...?

Szczury

Revival or Funeral
of Society

The re-appropriation processes could be one of the pivotal factors for self-managed transformation of the society.

It can also go in the completely wrong direction.

by Veronika; AbolishingBB

There are some notions being popularised through various spectrums of people, from sociologists to journalists, political-experts until anarchist activists saying that east European populations are extremely fed up with their governments and politics after what they achieved during the time of transition from one deadlock to another. I can only agree with this opinion and can give just another proof for that in form of results of recent referendums which took place in Spring'04 across EU-annexed populations. Well, some could say that the referendum was nothing but an exercise in direct democracy - I say, it could be the fact if there would be any true choice given. Instead of that we had the classical *fait-accompli* where the decision was made some years before and whatever

people would vote for they vote against the logic and against themselves (YES was staying here for opening the doors for economic re-colonisation of Eastern Europe; NO - for closing ourselves in the EU-domestic-prison surrounded by neoliberal hunting politics of the rest). Anyway, in such an important moment of their lives, about 40-45% of eastern Europeans decided to do something what makes more sense to their lives as taking a part in the EU-accession-referendums and simply did not appear at the polls. In Hungary just 45% took part, Slovakia 52%, Czechia 53%, Poland 58%, Slovenia 60%, Lithuania 62%, Estonia 68% and Latvia 72%. Millions of people rightly realised that the referendum had nothing to do with their lives. This decreasing trust in existence of relation between

voting and exercising the management over own lives, is in many cases even more visible during local governments elections.

And there is another opinion based, from one side on myths and historical facts, from the other side on simply observations of peoples' daily lives. This one, however not so widely represented as the first one (because not countable and not so visible), says that those societies have good traditions in overcoming the importunity of systems by introducing, maybe not necessarily dynamic and showy, but certainly handy and efficient forms of resistance. Simple measures made by simple people, measures which are ungovernable for the state and its allies.

Well, connecting these two



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notions with the third one which is the socio-economical situation in which people in the region have currently found themselves, one could actually take field-glasses in the hands, sit next to the window and look outside seeking uprising coming down the streets. And even if I personally consider all three notions as the true ones I would say: One could sit there for years and see nothing more than marching frustration. Maybe even not marching but loafing about.

Yes, there is huge disillusion among EE societies, at least within some of them, towards the world of politics but this is deeper and therefore rather more dangerous than positive, as some of us seem to take it into consideration. This reluctance to the politics has to be understood as a total-one: it concerns on the same scale governments and armies of politicians as the politics understand as the pursuit to protection of own rights, realisation of own desires, transformation of live-conditions, etc. The not-voting which we would like to see just as a clear rejection of mainstream politics and the system as a whole, is unfortunately as well a sign of complete stagnation which is easy to prove by showing *how many* of not-voting-people are joining (or creating) any alternatives to what they doubt. The same regards an aspect of overcoming the system. Some societies, let's take as an example people living in Poland, could amaze the universe with the knacks of how one can survive in the supposedly developed country having just the minimum of means. Using an amazing repertoire of widely spread unconventional solutions to individual and community problems is, although illegal, accepted by huge part of society. Unfortunately here appears again the same problem: all these acts which self-evidently hit against legitimacy of state and ruling economically-political dogmas are not propped with any critical social reflection. That is why in most cases all these re-appropriation processes, which I am drinking to, except of facilitation of people's daily existence are just a copy of through the capitalists powers (states and capital) promoted relations, here in its tragic version performed by people who are the most from them affected: reproduce of the misery

accompanied by competition, corruption and attraction to consumption.

Yet, as it was said at the beginning, both of these notions (rejection of mainstream politics and reappropriation processes) COULD BE a pivotal factors for self-transformation of the society. I believe that continuity and popularity of those behaviours should consequently lead to their normalisation which would be in fact already a significant aspect of transformation of the society. Now, I am very anxious if this transformation goes than in the direction we all would wish it to go. Normalisation of minor-corruption, trashy-consumption, and competition from below, normalisation of apathy, misery, hopelessness and "catching the shadows" is nothing but stabilising the status quo, or if you prefer, funeral of society. In other words, completely in the



wrong direction.

In fact, these definitely existing but by many social movements (well, regarding to EE reality more adequate would be the term *networks of socially active individuals*) until now underestimated behaviours, make potential for radical changes. Possibility that the general challenge in understanding of their deeper importance can happen without any active theoretical-practical support of anarchist-libertarian thinking members of those societies, I see at the moment as hardly realistic. Not only because I am waiting in vain for this self-achieved-enlightenment for many years already but as well because there are some counterfactors which influenced peoples' behaviours, such as capitalist and statist most

danger weapon of mass-destruction, which are media. They will never give up with feeding people with great confusion - competition - consumption values-trip-tych, so that they never realise how strongly they are actually threatening the stability of that system: at least much more than they think. So that they never take it into consideration that the straight consequence of their very natural reactions like *"There is no sense to vote", "I don't trust anymore what politicians say", "I reject the mediation of a state and capitalists while using popular resources", "Fuck the taxes - what do I have from it?!", "I do it better my way"* etc., is to start consciously changing the reality

So regarding to the anarchist-libertarian activities in EE, all attempts of approaching *"not politically"* or maybe rather *"not reflectionary"* acts and processes of re-appropriation within societies and taking this issue on the daily agenda seem to me being even more relevant than in western Europe. However crap it can sound, there seems to be an urgent need to help people to find a better sense of their knacky crimes not only in order to speed eradication of whole system but even just that they could find more satisfaction in what they do e.g. by discovering the magic power of the collective re-appropriation. The role of anarchists in such situations was pretty well described by one of the Balkan anarchists of young generation, with words: *"A role of the activist intellectual could become teasing out the tacit logic underlying forms of radical practice, and than not only offering the analysis back to the movement, but using it, with others, to formulate new and very accessible visions"*.

At this point we are reaching the real challenge and I am looking forward to a focus in the next issue of AbolishingBB on that very crucial momentum of: How can we practically achieve this enlightenment towards daily re-appropriation processes and simultaneously observe and promote anarchist principles. I would like to invite the rest of ABB-correspondents as well as other East European activist interested in that dispute to face the topic and take a voice.

Veronika

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Belarusian Social Forum

5-7 of November 2004 in Minsk Belarusian Social Forum (BSF) will be held for the first time. The event was initiated by The Federation of Anarchists of Belarus, "NAVINKI" newspaper crew, non-governmental organizations "Belarusian Lambda League", Republican Youth Female Association "YANA", Belarusian Social-Democratic Youth "Maladaya Hramada", Belarusian Social Movement "RAZAM!" and by some other social initiatives.

The BSF's aim is to bring together activists of social and civil movements, NGOs and initiatives, who are OPPOSED to neoliberalism, to the anti-social reforms, started in our country, who are AGAINST the domination of the world by capital and any form of dictatorship, who are FOR the society which main value is human being, his rights and liberties, social equality and solidarity among people. The Forum must put the beginning to the steady discussion and elaboration of alternatives to the neoliberalism, later on and out of the framework of the meeting itself.

In conformity with the World Social Forum Charter, Belarusian Social Forum is based on the principles of equality and plurality of participants. It's neither an event organized by a party or by a governmental structure, or a religious confession. We invite to join the Forum all individuals, social initiatives, NGOs, independent trade-unions, artistic and

other groups, who share the principles mentioned above and want to take part in one or several following working groups:

1. Local self-government and social movements in Belarusian regions
2. Globalization and neoliberalism: impact on Belarus
3. Belarus after European Union enlargement
4. Worker's movement and trade-unions in Belarus
5. NGOs in Belarus
6. Alternative media perspectives in Belarus
7. Ecologist movement in Belarus
8. Gender issues and problems of women in Belarus
9. Minorities rights movements in Belarus
10. Problem of nationalism and xenophobia in Belarus, antifascist movement
11. Reforms of educational system, students' movements in Belarus
12. Alternative art, counterculture in Belarus

If you want to apply for the participation, please contact the organizational committee of the Forum bsforum@tut.by. More information (full text of the Charter and principles of the BSF, application form, program of the event) you can find on www.navinki.net/bsforum.

BSF Organizational Committee

Warsaw Infoshop Moving

After more than 3.5 years, we are finally moving to a better space. (New info and opening hours will be in the next issue.) Part of the reason for staying in the old shop were arguments that the location was best for people from the other side of the river but now that there seem to be new places on that side for people to hang out, we find less reason to be conveniently located. So we will move ourselves more into our nasty neighbourhood, where rents are cheaper and criminals welcome, right onto the street where the feminists think

we should be afraid to walk. In the new space we'll have better facilities, will have a kitchen for yummy meals and will start some new, anti-gentrification projects and try to expand our stock of items. The new infoshop also will have an unusual name which is hard to translate in English "Grona Gniewu" or "Grapes of Wrath". (In Polish it has a double entendre which means something like "cradle of rage".) In addition to books, we will also sell some organic produce and good homemade wine produced by members of the collective.

CALL FOR PARTICIPATION IN ANARCHY BUS PROJECT

CONCEPT

The bus will be a mobile exhibition, information resource and activist exchange. It will travel through parts of Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia and Croatia - perhaps in several segments - in late summer/ early fall 2005. The bus will travel through cities where there are small groups of local anarchists and/or radical workers' activists and the idea is to meet people, arrange public meetings and exchange information and experiences. Anarchy Bus can carry: exhibits of activity from many regions; video films; books and magazines which can be displayed, traded or given away at different stops. We are particularly interested in creating a type of international event/exchange in areas where such exchanges have not taken place.

LOGISTICS

Either a caravan of vans (at least 2) or bus. Participants at any time should be at least 4 - upwards to as many interested. People can join in any segment, provided there will be space. We would like an international group of people. Optimally, we would like to see a few people join for 2-3 week segments. A few people have already committed to travel and hosting. Language abilities are not required but on the Russia - Ukraine segment, Russian instruction can be integrated into the project. We expect the Russia-Ukraine segment to be slightly longer than the Romania-Bulgaria-Serbia-Croatia segment although this depends on future declared interest. Participant should be prepared to pay their own expenses for food and travel to the point where they join the bus plus visas (if needed) but other expenses such as gas and materials will be covered by the project. A first meeting will be held in Russia at the end of January to discuss the logistics of the first segment; other meetings are to be announced.

HOW PEOPLE CAN HELP/PARTICIPATE

To join the tour as a travelling comrade, it is enough to volunteer. Please be aware that we would like travellers to be organizers of the project, so ideally we would like people to commit a little time to organizing events. To host the bus in your town, you should be prepared to receive the bus, distribute announcements/posters locally and preferably organize meeting and sleeping places for travellers. We are researching options for vehicles but of course it would be better if persons with vehicles and drivers join. To fulfill this project, we also will need some modest funds, so benefits and donations would be welcome. You can participate in this project from the comfort of your own home / infoshop by donating information about your group, publications, exhibitions, posters, videos and so on. What people decide to share will be the basis for the exchange! People with appropriate language skills can also help to localise certain materials such as videos.

IDEAS ARE WELCOME!

JOIN THE TOUR AND SPREAD ANARCHY!
MATERIAL COLLECTION WILL TAKE PLACE FROM HERE ON AFTER!

SEND US

WHATEVER WILL MAKE IT OVER THE BORDER!
GUARANTEED TO BE THE HOTTEST BUS EVER! *

Meaning we do not guarantee A/C.

Get your minds off sex and rioting!

UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS

CZECHIA

First Czech Social Forum

On September 25-28, first Czech social forum took place. Ironically in the building of former Political university of Marxism-Leninism in Prague and similarly to the World one organised by various Trotskyist and Stalinist groups.

Besides a few leftist intellectuals, MPs and members of communist party participated and had speeches there, as well people from major trade unions and even Hunter association! Also, one anarchist speaker from the A-kontra magazine participated first unwillingly published in the program (probably in attempt of organizers to show to public they are colorful etc.), later really attended to criticize the forum itself. In the end of the Forum, non-political street party took place. Both events were purely attended just about one hundred people participated.

New A-kontra is out

A-kontra (4/2004), anarchist magazine, was published in the end of September. The main topic of this issue is the free-tekno culture - it is in reaction to violent police attack on the biggest free (and illegal) tekno party Czechtek with around 30.000 participants. This attack was widely discussed in mainstream media with usual hysterical and holy-private-ownership approach. So A-kontra took different point of view... Articles on the police attack, interview with Czech anti-capitalist soundsystem Circus Alien, research on repressive laws in France and England etc.

Nazis outnumbered anarchists

October 4, the anarchist demonstration called by the local *Anarchist and antifascist alternative* (AAA) took place in the city of Kolin under the slogan:

15 years (of capitalism) is enough. However, just about ten people gathered there together with lot of nazis, who outnumbered anarchists at least twice. The demo was disaster then, later dismissed by the city major. In later reflection and discussion between activist from the CSAF, A-kontra and FAS, people from the AAA accepted they did a lot of mistakes and wont organize another demo soon... People from the CSAF, A-kontra and FAS who attended the demo were really angry, as the AAA claimed to have more than 60 members and finally, just two people participated...

Solidarity with Thesaloniki 7

On November 27, 25 - 30 people gathered on the support demo for Thesaloniki prisoners in Prague. Anarchists gathered at the building of embassy of Greece, wove multilanguage-banner demanding freedom for Thesaloniki seven and read two speeches. In the first one the situation of imprisoned persons was described and also EU was criticized. Second speech pointed at international solidarity in this case. It was also said, that the struggle for Thesaloniki seven is not over yet, we demand pulling off of all accusations against them. The struggle for freedom of political prisoners is continuing and we can support them by many other ways then just solid demonstrations, in this spirit was finished the speech. The demo was prepared by FSA - IWA and CSAF - IAF.

Russian nazi episode in Prague

The leader of Russian nazi band Kolovrat, arrested in Prague (as reported in the last issue), was set free recently because of the lack of proofs. State prosecutor abrogated on the spot which means the singer who showed his aryan proud by denouncing being in the band and even being the nazis, will stay in custody till

the higher court take the discussion, but most likely he will be set free anyway.

TURKEY

Solidarity with prisoners of global death machine

On the night of 22 October (2004), a group of anarchists made spray paintings to the central walls of Avclar the neighbourhood against all the walls that were built all over the world and to support all imprisoned people (prisoners) by global death machine. The spray paintings include the slogans of "All The States Are Murderer" and "Freedom For Prisoners!" The activists stated that they wanted to it's necessary to create an awareness and solidarity of necessity to urgently start Glogal Insurrection against the hostility walls between Israel and Palestine and between all the people all over the world. It's necessary to act and urge revolutionary rage and the desire of freedom against Global Death Machine in all dimentions and it necessary to throw away the tyrants from the world. Therefore it's necessary for people who believe in freedom to spread direct acitons and to attack the system. Spay Painting or distributing communiques are nothing to destroy the system. But the message we want to spread is its very self of our desire of freedom that we crush the rules of authority. Freedom For All The Planet and its Inhabitants!

Solidarity with "Silent March"

"Solidarity march with Israeli and Palestinian anarchists, antimilitarists and antiauthoritarians". On Friday 22nd of October a silent march will be held in Istanbul. We do not intend to chant slogans. We will have placards writing "I am Israeli, I am Palestinian, I am Against the Wall" etc. and signed as

"Anarchists Against the Wall". It is open to all those anarchists and anti-authoritarians who are willing to come. Anarchists Against The Wall

BELARUS

Navinki vs. Lukashenko The struggle continue

There are some rumours that most significant belarusian anarchist publication Navinki, it's been closed down again. Navinki collectiveis printing their magazine on regular basis since years and is permanently facing repression from the Lukashenko regiment side. More about Navinki you can find in ABB#11.

ROMANIA

Romanian Government member in Hamburg (Germany)

Alexandru Farcas from romanian government visited Hamburg in October. He was invited to talk about "romanas way to european union". The minister spoke about "romania is a modern, capitalist country" and "most of romanians want to become like the modern west europe". It could be understood as an advertising for making german racist ("romanian are corrupt and non-civilized") understandable, that it is a good deal to colonize the country into european union. His speech one could see as if he would sell a horse. There was no forum to discuss, just some questionse. Farcas was proudly talking about privatisation, cheap employees for the west and that it is so wonderful to learn from "well organized german working culture". Minister said that Romania is in NATO since april this year and german border police was training the new romanian border police since 2001 and that they are in a good process of getting the same structures like here.

UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS

POLAND

"Self-organized" free public transportation

Self-organized "Movement in Defence of Unemployed" in city of Radom, fabricated few hundred of legitimations, which suppose to allow its activists to use public transportation (trains, buses, trams, etc.) all over the country for free. Some controllers had been cheated with this, but creative unemployed activist are likely to be now persecuted...

Kwacz hanging out with Taliban - forbidden

Police has raided the house of activists in Lublin and confiscated computers. The cause: a poster with president Kwasniewski hanging out with the Taliban.

Poles and war in Iraq

Polish public opinion in recent months has questioned the conduct of the war and its economic costs. More than 75 percent of those surveyed in Poland have said they are against Polish participation in Iraq.

New refugee centers

Poland will build six new refugee centers on its eastern border. The new centers will add to Poland's twelve existing centers, which house up to 2,250 refugees. Seventeen million euros (20 million dollars) from the EU's Schengen fund will finance the construction of the refugee reception centers. Last year, 5,300 Chechens, 250 Afghans and 230 Indians asked for refugee status in Poland. Since then, nearly 4,000 requests have been made, mostly by Chechens.

Picket at the Israeli embassy

About 50 people participated in the picket at the Israeli emassy

in Warsaw in protest against the construction of the wall. The picket was held on friday 22, the day of solidarity with Palestinian people. After some speeches, slogans and songs the demo ended "without incidents". Later on a documentary movie about children of the first Intifada was shown in one of the anarchist centers. A discussion was held about the possibility of organising the Polish section of the tour "Marhaba Europe" an Arab-Israeli group opposing war and racism.

Miners protests

Last week about 700 miners protested at the hq of the Katowice mining company against plans to restructure the "Wujek" mine (famous during martial law) and the "Slask" mine from nearby Ruda Slaska. Firecrackers and smoke grenades were thrown by the workers on the company office. Some workers attempted to burn the place.

A politician from Self-Defence party took the loudspeaker and tried to influence the workers into supporting the party, but he was thrown down from the stairs. More pickets are announced.

Chechen refugees and polish border police

Beginning of September about 100 Chechens arrived on polish border in Terespol but were not allowed in Poland. There seems to be some media/state conspiracy in not telling this story. The largest newspaper spoke of their arrival but did not say that they were not allowed in. (Two weeks ago they also reported an attack on a refugee center as 'just hooligans, not neo-nazis', even though even the story they told would make it a racist attack.) The Border Guards, which publish statistics of how many people were held or deported every day, somehow chose not to publish statistics for that day and instead has a story about some official ceremony on its

web pages. Conflicting information is making its way around, including information that they were let in the country, but the first information about stopping them seems to be confirmed by the comments of the Border Police themselves. The Border Police predict that a wave of refugees will come to Poland in the wake of the Beslan incident.

No right to forbid ...

An administrative court in Poznan has decided that the president of the city and the governor of the voivodship had no right to forbid demonstrations against the war in Chechnya at the Russian consulate in that city. The court decided that it was a brach of constitutional rights and was against the freedom of public gatherings.

Members of the Committee Free Caucasus now intend to sue the local government for a campaign of repressions against protesters, which resulted in many beatings and court cases and fines for protesters against the war in Chechnya.

RUSSIA

Putins participation in ESF-London

Russian powers took an innovative approach with covering ESF in London in mainstream media. They organised their own demonstration, demanding extradition of Chechen resistance spokesperson Ahmed Zakaev from UK to Russia. Most reactionary channel, ORT gave a coverage where this was claimed to be the line of the ESF. "Unstability in oil-production areas is beneficial for big oil corporations - this is why they have manipulated US and UK governments to harbour terrorists such as Ilyas Ahmedov, who has refugee status in Washington, and Ahmed Zakaev, who has refugee status

in London...." actually whole 20 000 strong anti-war demonstration was presented as an "anti-terrorist" one as well. Opposition to war in Iraq and protectionist wing of the anti-globalist movement are already in line with Russian state interests, and this way they could gain even more propaganda benefit. "Anti-terrorist" demonstration seems to have mainly consisted of members of "Putin-Yugend" Iduschie Vmeste ("Those who march together"), whose travel from minor Russian cities to London was financed by the government. Other Russian delegates in ESF promised to write about this operation more in detail soon.

Alltogether pretty clever, and big part of the Russian public moderately sympathetic with "anti-globalism" will swallow this shit due to lack of counter-information available. It seems like after the change of the course in Russian politics, more skilled people are returning to FSB ranks from the private sector who recruited all of them in the beginning of the 90's, replacing the morons who have ruled there last 10 years.

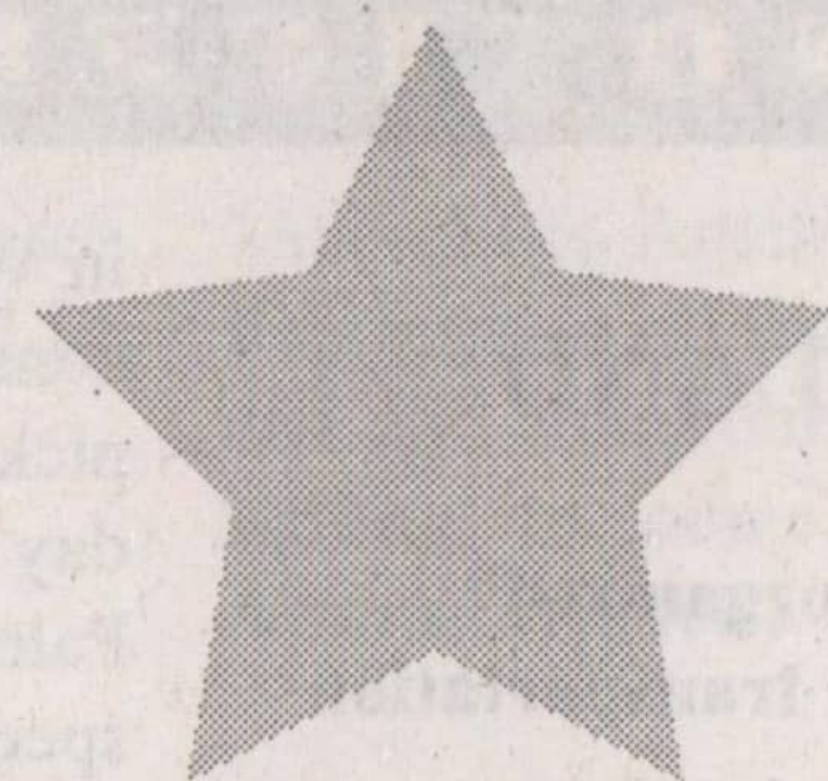
September 11 anarchists activities

A number of actions were held around the world on Sept.11. One of the small ones that not a lot of people have heard about took place in Siberian Tyumen. 15 activists - anarchists, radical leftists and artists - took over the building site for the Tyumen Museum of Modern art and held a series of discussion there. They covered the building with some banners and posters including anti-Putin posters and banners like "when will we be free" and "we are all hostages of the state". Some people from the public came and took part in the happening.

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STRUGGLE IN "PROMISED LAND" OF CAPITALISTS



Following article appeared in german autonomist magazine "Wildcat" #70. We had translated and slightly edited this text.

Restructurization of production processes and changes in romanian society, that happened last years are strongly connected to changes in EU countries. Romania became integral part of Europe, so had been also integrated in european employment system. Transformations in factories as well as migration created continuing exchange between romanian and foreign companies, but also between romanian workers and workers abroad.

Several social and political phenomena changed Romania in last years: opening for foreign capital (often characterized mainly by pure exploitation of local labour powers), growing number of workers protests (some connected to official unions, yet many totally autonomous ones), beginning of bigger waves of migration (especially of women) and finally, rapidly increasing impoverishment, that hit firstly older people and women.

"BACK TO THE VILLAGE" AS EXPRESSION OF GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT

Economical and political transformations since 1990 strenghtened regional differences. Firstly, foreign investments flew into regions with most appealing for them political situations. Stream of international capital speeded up already existing migration's forms: compared with before it is now much easier to overcome bureaucratic obstacles and leave the country. Very specific for Romania is increasing since mid 90's ruralization of population. People move to countryside because they lost workplaces, feel insecure, cost of urban living grew or just because they don't have other possibilities. This contradicts strongly with dreams of many young ones, which would prefer to live in the big city, yet they cannot afford to live there. Public transport is in miserable condition, so those which moved to the countryside have to live in isolation. In '90's new land's privatization laws had been introduced, allowing thousands of people to buy small pieces of land very cheaply. In the countryside is possible to survive from work on the fields and animal farming, while other necessity products are got through exchange with neighbours, etc.

Foreign investments, firstly concentrated on Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic, started to flow more in Romania since 1997. When in 1990 was it 87 millions

\$, in 1997 already 1,215 milliard \$, at end of 2003 it is 10,4 milliards \$. Mainly is it dutch (17,3%), french (10,5%), german (8,5%), US (6,7%) and italian (6%) capital. They follow different models of investing, eg. germans and italians come with many investors (almost 11 000 from Germany and over 14 000 from Italy), yet they invest little. Main interest of foreign capitalists are industry (54%), professional services (15,8%) and

trade (16,6%). Especially their focus goes into building new factories in agricultural or mining regions, where there are so-called "special exports zones": here taxes are lower and companies can work out even more profitable for them contracts; but sometimes they invest also in just privatized, important state firms, like in case of Dacia bought from Renault in '99. Now foreign investments operate mostly in Bucuresti, around Timisoara, Arad, Brasov, Sibiu and Cluj.



PRODUCTION SPECIFICS

Romanian government had followed policies, which had been comfortable for foreign investors, eg. firm importing minerals and raw materials and exporting then ready products pays in customs only difference between these 2 values. Along this procedure, costs of production are lowered, but economical sovereignty of the country is lost.

Production in Romania is mainly based on imported raw materials and imported machines, and big international compa-

nies are trying to speed up production, unless they encounter workers protests.

Through strong restructurization of production, number of employed workers sunk from 8,3 millions in 1989 to merely 4,7 % millions in 1999. Only in industry number of workers went down from 4 to 2 millions, especially shrunk textile and machine building industry. Now almost 2/3 of industrial workers are employed in private companies.

WORKERS PROTESTS

At least in '90's romanian workers could finally protest with less fear as during previous decades. All ruling governments tried to deescalate social conflicts and put them in legal frames, eg. through mediation processes even before conflict starts. Government learned that is better to negotiate with unions representatives, as according to research done by Ministry of Labour in years 1992-96, 35 % of protests (in which altogether over 3 millions workers had participated) had been blocked successfully through negotiation between union representatives and bosses. In beginning of '90's workers didn't wanted even to hear about unions, just last years they're more tending to work with them, so also state tries to be careful, and firstly in 2003 new work laws appeared, slightly better for workers.

Workers struggles took place mostly in public sectors (miners, gas workers, water, transport, post, hospitals, etc.) but also in places dominated by private or international capital, like textile or clothes industry. Demands been mainly made about payments, work conditions, against lay-offs, but also eg. concerning night shifts, etc. Protests are finding place especially in mining province of Hunedoara or provinces Timis and Sibiu dominated by international companies and industry. For example in February 2004, some 60 000 striking workers of brown coal company Oltenia completely blocked production for whole week.

Other example could be Daewoo-owned shipyard in Mangalia, where from 1 April 2004 strike organized by Union of Shipyard Workers, blocked production for a week. 2300 workers demanded 15% more salary. Worker there earns 6,5 million lei (some 160 Euro). Bosses promised only 6% more plus one-time bonus, worth of half month salary. Negotiations had been broken. 900 from 1400 workers of day-shift striked, which was enough to block the whole production process. Bosses

accused strikers of destroying some of welding equipment in reparation hall and of blocking brakes in cranes, so as to stop strike-breakers from work, but unionist denied it.

After 9 days strike was still going on. Workers hold on to own demands, as they knew that company makes anyhow bigger and bigger profits, yet refuses to increase the salaries. Company was losing huge amounts of money with each day of strike, so they had to give up.

SALARY AND WORKING HOURS

Minimum wage, which is always fixed according to inflation at beginning of 2004 brought up to 2,8 million lei (ca. 70 euro), yet supported by occasional bonuses and widely spread in Romania food marks (in many shops or bars you can exchange them for food products). Average salary is



100-150 euro, but is hard to speak about average as differences between sectors are high, eg. miners can get even over 40% more money than textile or wood industry workers. In state owned sectors there's more workers protests than in private firms, yet this also starts to change, as in case of italian textile company Radici, where production was layed down for days after became known that they plan to fire 200 employed. Widest spread is still individual form of struggle: absenteeism grew from 5 till 10 %, people fluctuate searching for better wages and change jobs all the time, so they don't develop so preferred by bosses loyalty to their workplace. In decade '89-'99 over 40% employed changed their workplace or profession, most of them being unqualified workers. In general, job mobility and marginalization processes are much more present in the cities

than in rural regions.

Means, with which is attempted to break the strikes are that same as always: cutting the phone connections, disinformation spreading, firing union leaders.

In factories with foreign management work intensity increased: in neo-taylorist way, precise tacts and rhythms are introduced, not allowing workers to win some small time or breaks. Introduction of these new work methods encounters resistance in old factories, but in newly build sites goes more smoothly, as here workers don't have historical collective memory (eg. to compare work conditions) and no alternatives as well.

WOMEN ARE LEAVING

Still, even for youth it is hard to keep up with fast work rhythm and low wages, so many migrate. Officially some 300 000, yet actually it must be over 1,7 million that left the country. Mostly they leave for Italy, Spain, Germany, Israel or Hungary. Some 72% have contracts, but even many of these ones work without papers. Migration is reaction on hard work conditions with low wages but also on growing impoverishment. Specific for Romania massive migration of women shows also, that these new capitalistic changes put even more pressure on women life and brought back older forms of patriarchal order, where women gets pushed into "invisible" home work. As more women gets pushed away from public sphere, as more of them migrate. Poverty rate was 7% already 1989, now is much more higher.

So, situation in Romania is rather complicated and some of foreign investors think already about moving their capital further east, eg. in Ukraine, where wages are even lower and labour laws even more flexible. Still, romanian working class despite their economical problems doesn't seem to be ready to submit to rules of foreign capitalists, which thought they could introduce here exploitation, that is not longer possible in their home countries.

WORKERS PROTESTS IN ROMANIA

One hour of work costs in Romania 1,70 euro (average). Low salary, mass lay-offs, but also delays with paying wages cause more and more strikes. After period, when most of conflicts took place in unionist frames, more reports comes about wild, self-

organized strikes, which often stay isolated from each other: as in textile factory in Zimnecia, where women workers stopped production due to extremely low wages and horrible conditions; as in Timisoara, where 200 women were fired from textile factory after they striked against raising up the norm (accord work)...

RAILWAY WORKERS STRIKE

"Greva de avertisment" - "Warning strike": this small but clear message was stuck to the windows of locomotives all over country. On 1st March 2004 between 7am-9am trains didn't moved (also international and freight trains), some 60 000 railway workers participated in strike. This supposed to be a start of longer conflict.

Demands: reduction of working hours from 8 to 7 daily by that same wage, 12% more basic salary and additional food marks. Except of this they protested against poor work conditions: equipment is ancient, working clothes lacking, rest rooms and infrastructure falling apart. Bosses of CFR (state railways) didn't change nothing since beginning of 2003, only promising to give 3% higher wages, so something had to be done.

CFR is state company with huge debts; with 65 000 workers is it one of the biggest employers in the country. Under pressure of IMF it was forced to stop transport on altogether 3000 km railway tracks. After such a shrinking of routes already 19 000 workers had been fired last year, at least next 9000 supposed to be layed off soon. These which kept their job have now to raise their productivity without any financial recompensation.

With this warning strike locomotive drivers won 12% they fought for. Transport minister Mitrea said: "From now on general strike of railway workers wouldn't be justified". Despite of this, on 15th March locomotive drivers (belonging to BNS - National Block of Unions), as well as 5000 signal workers and communication technicians (organized in union "Elcatel") started unlimited strike. Unions, that called for strike kept legal frame: according to law, despite of strike 1/3 of trains must run. That same demands like before had been again accented. Already same day government threatened them with juristical consequences. In Bucaresti, local section of CFR functioned as strike breakers, scabs: except of delay of two slow trains everything went regulary at capital's main station Gara de Nord. Union active in Bucaresti, "CNSLR Fratia" (which stays near to ruling PSD

party) didn't called for strike. Because of this, economical pressure caused by strike was lowered, yet eg. in big coastal port Constanza nothing moved till some of strike-breakers from Bucaresti had been brought here to drive 2 trains.

Next day Highest Court declared strike for illegal. Nothing more appeared also in newspapers or on TV. Issue was perfectly silenced. Firstly 3 weeks later notions appeared, that unions involved in strike had been excluded from negotiations. Government issued also new regulation, according to which it is enough for agreement to be valid if just 2/3 of negotiators signs for all. Ministry of Transport decided to ban all strikes for 1 year. Government - loyal union CNSLR signed it too.

COLLECTIVE "SICKNESS" AT TAROM

Above mentioned regulation caused also, that pilots of airways company Tarom decided to act: on 4th April 2/3 of them stopped work for "health reasons" for 3 days. They protested against this new law (union of airport workers, which have majority wanted to sign) as well as against their wages: in Romania pilot gets ca. 12,5 million lei (300 euro) and captain of Boeing maybe 25 millions (600 euro). From this protest internal flights had been disturbed but also one international (Cluj-Munchen).

WESTERN OWNED SWEATSHOPS: REPORT OF YOUNG WOMAN FROM ARAD

"Company in which I work is called 'Aries Textile'. It belongs to 'Calzedonia' with Headquarter in Italy, highest boss for Romania is Massimo Ambrosi. In our factory works 150 women and 30 men. We produce T-shirts and blouses, which are sold later all over Italy. I started work here in November 2003, firstly ironing the shirts. Infrastructure is relatively OK: dressing rooms and eating rooms are clean and new. Normally I work 8 hours a day, 5 days a week. All this time we had to stand except of 20- minutes midday break. Some of my colleagues are trying to go to toilet often just in order to rest few seconds. But this is strictly controlled. From one day to another we heard, that we supposed now to do 10 hours a day. After 2 days some of us went to the boss and said: 'No'. After that we work again 8 hours. I don't know what would they pay with 10 hours a day. Monthly I get 3,5 million lei (ca. 90 euro) + each day food marks in value 61 000 lei (1,5 euro).

Once, on payment day mens been pissed off with their wage and went to boss. We, women joined them and stopped working. Just for 5 minutes. Massimo (boss) came fast and promised us higher wages if his chiefs in Italy will agree. Next salary of mine was 12% higher."

MIGRATION

Attacks in Madrid (March 2004) caused in Romania strong reactions, because most victims (and under them many Romanians) left their countries to work in Spain in order to support their families at home. People been angry that not only they work "illegally", in shit conditions abroad but now also they die there. Shortly after romanian Prime Minister declared, that working abroad is positive for romanian economy and encouraged people to migrate, because it is also way they learn "better" attitude and respect towards job. "Those, which worked in the West know at least how long coffee- or cigarette-break really should be..." he said.

40 000, so almost twice more work contracts abroad than year before signed Romanians in 2003. Most of them worked 4 months in Germany on fields, some got 18-months contracts in health services (nurses, etc.). 15 000 had legally worked in Spain. Only in period January-February 2004 ca. 1,8 million people left Romania, over 300 000 was stopped on the borders. Main direction are Italy and Spain. Very few are returning willingly to Romania.

With salary usually 70-100 euro (often much lower), only 5 from 21 million population having social security, miserable unemployed bonus (given only to some and only for 6 months), extra social money for families with many children in quote of 10 euro a month, etc. there is not much perspectives. Anyhow, even those with stabil jobs must pay fully for all medicine, but also for dentist. Basic food products, train or cinema tickets, bars are cheaper than in West, but with this money it isn't enough to survive. Anyhow electric products, shoes, coffee or clothes are as much expensive as in West Europe. Migration seems really most rational alternative.



THIS IS NOT OUR CHOICE !

... this slogan have been justified before, and remain true after elections in Ukraine

Author of following text is a well known writer in Ukraine who, however can not be consider as an anarchist, seems to have a true respect for freedom and justice. The letter was written short before the first round of October elections in Ukraine therefore is already a bit out of date. Nevertheless we strongly recomend you to take these very emotional and dramatic report to your consideration ...

Kiev, October 24 2004

Dear friends,

I'm writing you this from the country, now haunted with the gory prospect of being forcefully turned, in a week, into one of the most terrible thugocratic dictatorships that Europe has witnessed since Hitler and Stalin. You may find this an exaggeration, yet it's not. It's usually so human, to refuse to believe the worst - until it's too late. Besides, from my recent conversations with my friends and journalists from EU, I know how little information can be found in the European media on the situation in Ukraine - and, as a result, how little understanding there is of what is really at stake here this fall.

Last night the first blood was spilled on the Kiev pavement. The autocratic post-Soviet regime, which since the late 1990s has been smothering the budding Ukrainian democracy, and is by now wholeheartedly hated by the vast majority of population (from 67% to 85%, according to the polls!), has given us its final proof, that there'll be NO - however heavily falsified - "free elections" on October, 31. There'll be a WAR - an open war, launched against the people of Ukraine by the handful of gangsters now at power, whose only goal is to stay at power after the 31st - at ANY price.

Until last night they've been using the "cold-war" methods (to skip the case of an attempted poisoning of the oppositional candidate, Victor Yushchenko, whose chances to win the elections in an honest game are undeniable). There's been a disgusting and overwhelming campaign of lies in the media (most of them, with very few exceptions, controlled by the power), there've been all the dirty, illegal tricks used (payments, threats, repressions etc.), as well as cheating with the voting lists (with, say, tens of thousands of the dead included on them, etc). Nothing of these, though, proved efficient enough to guarantee next Sunday the smooth and peaceful victory to the "candidate of the power" - the present-day Prime Minister (appointed by the president), a former (?) criminal, back in his youth twice convicted for robbery (no kidding!).

Yesterday, the grand "orange" manifestation (orange being the colour of the oppositional candidate) of some 150 000 - 200 000 people filled the square in front of the Central Election Committee, under the slogan "For honest and transpa-

rent elections". It's been a warm, tranquil sunny day (do you know how beautiful is Kiev in the fall?), and the 3-million city was all celebration - of joy, and hope, and solidarity. It's been a long time since I've seen so many happy, smiling faces in the streets - in fact, since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Yet then, in 1991, as the past 13 years have proved, our celebration was definitely premature. With no change of the political elite, with just very small burgeons of civil society, with - well, why don't I put it plainly - no REAL revolution, Ukraine, after a while, started sliding back into the dark shadow of Sovietization. It's only now, that the dragon of Soviet totalitarianism - in the meantime considerably shrunk, losing one part of his body after another (Eastern Europe - the Baltics - then, last fall, Georgia...), all rotten up to the marrow of his bones (its true - criminal - ske-



leton now fully exposed!) - is REALLY agonizing. And the convulsions of the dragon could be terrible - isn't the case of Russia conspicuous enough?

Vladimir Putin, who's so shortly turned his country back into a concentration camp, fully browbeaten with the fear of terrorism, now serves as the major support for the Ukrainian thugs. Small wonder, as criminals and the KGB officers used to belong together since good old Gulag times. The whole presidential campaign of our "candidate of the power", Victor Yanukovich, is a brainchild of Moscow professionals. Politically and intellectually, Kiev now more and more looks like the city under Russian occupation. And what exactly have they plotted to ensure "the succession of power" in Ukraine, has become visible last night.

About 23.00, after the singing "orange" crowd in front of the Central Election Committee dispersed, and only some 150 people - among them women, and senior citizens - stayed

to wait for the results of the session (which was held inside) to be announced (on the agenda was an attempt to falsify some 2 million voices, due to the machinations with the voting lists!) - the dragon has bared his teeth for the first time. Some 50 black-leathered men appeared out of the darkness, and attacked people, who were waiting on the park benches, with clubs and knives. There was no police around (!), but three of the attackers - when the parliamentarians and the bodyguards ran out of the building - were caught and handcuffed. According to their IDs, they all appeared to be disguised policemen - of the specially trained "killers' detachments". Yes, there've been rumours circulating before - of some "special detachments" arriving from all over the country and concentrating around the city. Of some strange, and highly suspicious manoeuvres noted by the city-dwellers in some areas. Now, next morning after the "night of the long knives" (as a result of which, 11 peaceful demonstrators were taken to the hospital, some of them seriously wounded), there's no doubt left: the war has been announced. The gangsters at power aren't going to leave in any case. They are going to fight - most probably, after the voting-booths will be closed.

Could any, however "specially trained", groups of murderers REALLY work against hundreds of thousands of people? (For people ARE going to go into the streets on the election night, and Ukrainian internet is now boiling with the discussions on how and where to meet, how to protect oneself against the attacks, etc.). Well, maybe they couldn't. And Ukrainian army will hardly agree to turn its guns against its own people, either. But on October, 28 - three days before the elections - there'll be a military parade (!) in Kiev (nothing like this was ever held before on this date!). And Russian president Vladimir Putin is coming to Kiev - allegedly, to take part in the parade (?). And to stay in Kiev for 5 (?) days more. Again, there're rumours - oh, these rumours! - that he'll be bodyguarded by some bayonets. More precisely - with two divisions being particularly famous of their operations in the Caucasus...

Maybe Ukraine has only one week left. One last week of the electrifying autumn of free political discussions in the cafes and clubs, of gatherings, manifestations, and - well, of hope. For, despite everything, there's an extremely strong, and

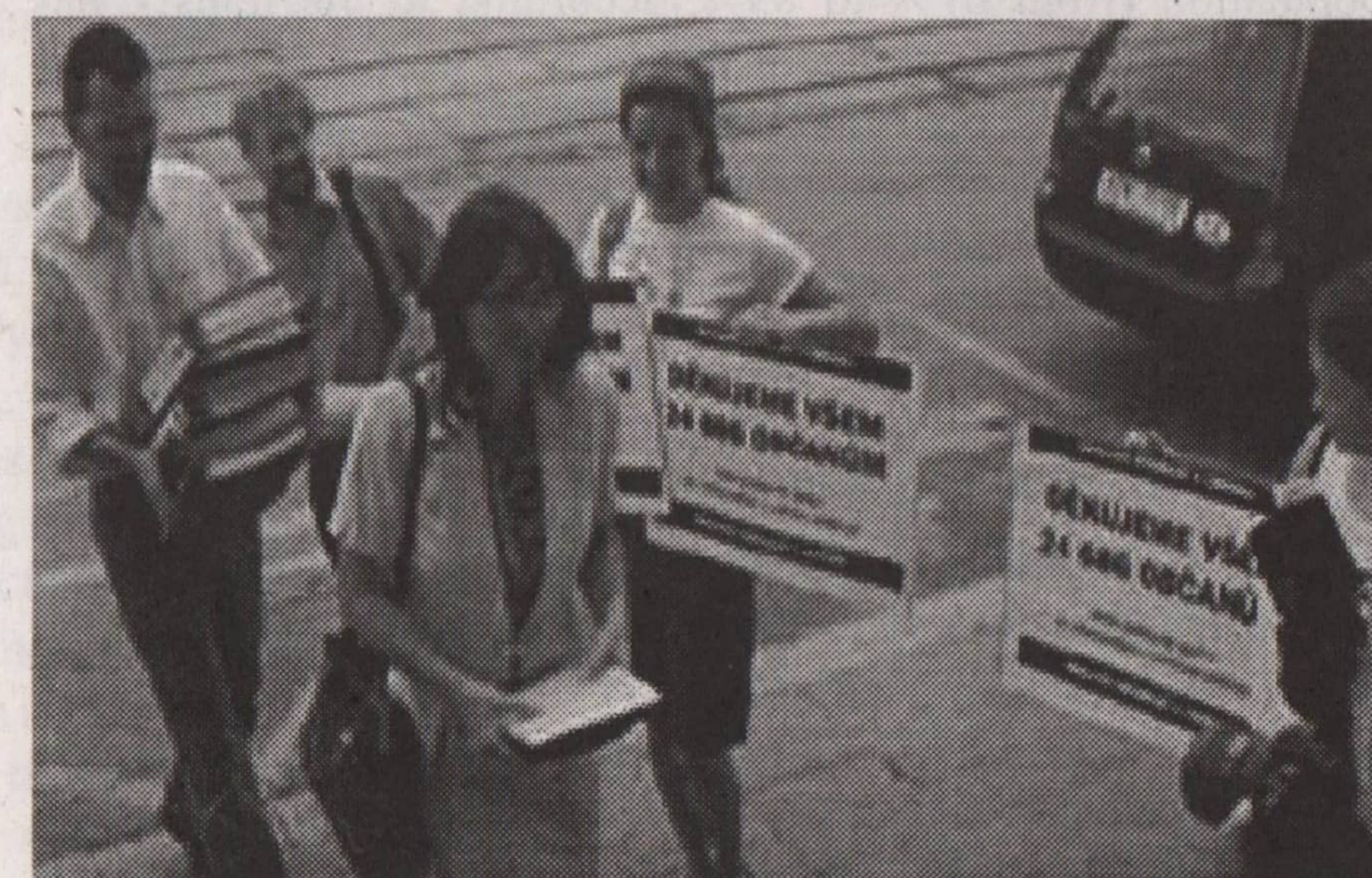
growing hope, I even daresay, an upsurging belief, that the Ukrainian part of the dragon will be killed next Sunday with the free will of the people. Today the anchorman on the last Ukrainian free TV channel yet unclosed (Channel 5) was smiling the same way people were yesterday in the streets. (For quite a while persecuted, now sued, Channel 5 is under the threat of being closed tomorrow night - but the anchorman was smiling like a winner.) Now covering no more than 30% of the country's territory, Channel 5 was the only one which gave a full report on the events of the last night. Characteristically, none of the beaten witnesses sounded "victimized" - they all talked indignantly, but righteously: that is, like people aware of their rights, and ready to protect them. It's a totally irrational, yet overwhelming feeling: that "we", the people, are stronger than "them", the corrupted power. And that it's "them", not "us", who is scared.

On the night of the elections I'll be in the streets, too. I don't know what is going to happen there. That is, what forces will be turned against us, and what will be the final result. Yet, even if the worst happens, and the Putin's bayonets help to turn my country, for God-knows-how-long, into a criminal-presided reservation of the degraded Stalinist type, we'll be in the streets - if only to be able to say, that THIS IS NOT OUR CHOICE. Knowing how easily (and, more than once, eagerly!) does Western press buy the "made-in-Russia" political myths on the current Ukrainian situation (on Ukraine being allegedly "split" into East and West, "pro-Russian" and "pro-Western", Russian-speaking and Ukrainian-speaking parts, each of them allegedly delegating its own candidate for the presidency), I just wanted to let you know how the things look and feel here in the reality. By spreading the truth further, you'll make your own contribution into killing the dragon. For, as we all know from this old guy Orwell (WHO on earth has ever been so careless to have claimed him outdated?) - what the dragon needs most badly for its survival, is precisely the fake, artificially constructed mental picture. And - needless to say that - the agony of the dragon should by no means be lightheartedly taken as a local process only... It's not a farewell letter - it's a letter of hope. Please keep your fingers for us this week! With warmest regards, **Oksana**

New displacement in Brno or How it'd fallen out with "direct democracy"

by **Petr Chromý**

If you're from Brno (Note of translator: second largest city in Czech rep., something below half million of inhabitants), you know for sure about referendum about Main train station's transfer, that took place on Saturday of 9th of October. If you're not, maybe you have some idea about how the station is like. I'll try to explain, why is for Brno and its inhabitants some train station so important, that they didn't hesitate to come in the number of almost 80 thousand (79.294) to vote about future position of this structure. By the way, after long time it was the biggest refe-



rendum by far in Czech republic. (Note if trans.: in Czech rep. they don't have an institute of state-wide referendum; the only one was "special" referendum for certifying the country's entry into EU).

For those unknowing Brno's conditions it could look like rather thick uproar because of some building some few hundreds meters souther. But this station is something like a natural centre. It's not caused just by its position directly in the centre of city, but right in front of station there is the city's biggest node of public transport; in this node there is also take-off

of night buses, that hand out people all over Brno at least every hour in the nights. All of this should change. And why?

When sometimes seven years ago a bunch of constructors came with magalomaniac project of station's displacement, they were laughed out by everyone. (Note of trans.: The idea itself is even older, first time they came with the displacement was in the beginning of 20th century; it was always rejected and later also the autor of the very first project recognised that he was wrong). But these people was not kind of people that are easy to be denied. Such a fiddle for couple of milliards doesn't have to be repeated soon. So they lobbied wherever they could, so suddenly city fathers approved the plan and started to punch hard arguments for needfulness of this megaproject for Brno. But it will cost something... Transport department estimates expenses just for moving the railway node at 640 millions Euro. (Note of trans.: By far the largest project in city's history; of course the city doesn't have such a money - they just "hope" they'll get something from government, EU etc.). After experiences with similar projects can one expect much higher amount; mentioned figure also doesn't cover another giant items related to "revitalization" of target area.

Racy step of council clashed a network of activists, who started strong campaign against displacement in March. They set up coalition Nadrazi v Centru (=Station in the Centre), where met up some of classical ecological NGOs with another, lesser-known and maybe slightly bizarre (Association for development of Ivanovice, Institute Democracy for everyone). First important step of coalition was a petitionary action for a referendum about future position of station. To say, coalition agrees with a opinion that it's necessary to modernize the station, but they say it can be solved in actual position and much cheaper. Petitionary action achieved success and enforced referendum. City council made a clear stand: if the referendum won't be imperative, they won't reflect it at all. According to law, the result of referendum is imperative just in case of 50% of citizens participated it.

Last week before referendum the information war between city and their "pro-displacement" partners on one side, and "anti-displacement" coalition on the other one, culminated. Flyer campaigns reached their heights, on turn got also t-shirts, happenings etc. - one can say Brno's people were not far from allegorical caravans, street theatres or traditional pre-electional goulash. Coalition of deniers appealed to participation on referendum. They reasoned by disproportionate financial expenses (that will inhibit development of everything else in city), ecological and another problems with giant construction (that would take many years to be completed, by estimation at least ten) and so on. (Note of trans.: For instance, it's possible that the flood of money for project could "dry up" in the middle of realization - then, in case of "displacing" alternative, there will stay half-built non-functional building of new station and old one, almost ruined, because all the investments needed for repairing the old building went into new one. In case of modernization of old station, there would stay half-modernized, but fully functional station...). City council was also trying to argue, by necessity of transfer because of corridors modernization, enlargement of the center and starting of its further development etc., but they primarily concentrated of explaining to people, that the referendum is useless. (Note of trans.: Or, better said, to explain how harmful is referendum or letting station on old place. And were grasping really hard, they didn't hesitate to use any weapons: from all legal possibilities to sabotage referendum, through using vast expanses from tax payer's money for disgusting pro-

paganda and blocking opposition town-councillors from writing into city's newspaper, to blatant lies and demagogu. Activists and referendum-participiers were officially branded as enemies of city's welfare, people were not properly informed where and when should they go to vote, but could read from council's flyer that travelling some 10 minutes more [if no traffic-jam happens, what's pretty common in this part of city] from city-transport's central node is a plus for new position's "approachability by city transport" and "comfort of Brno's citizens"....)

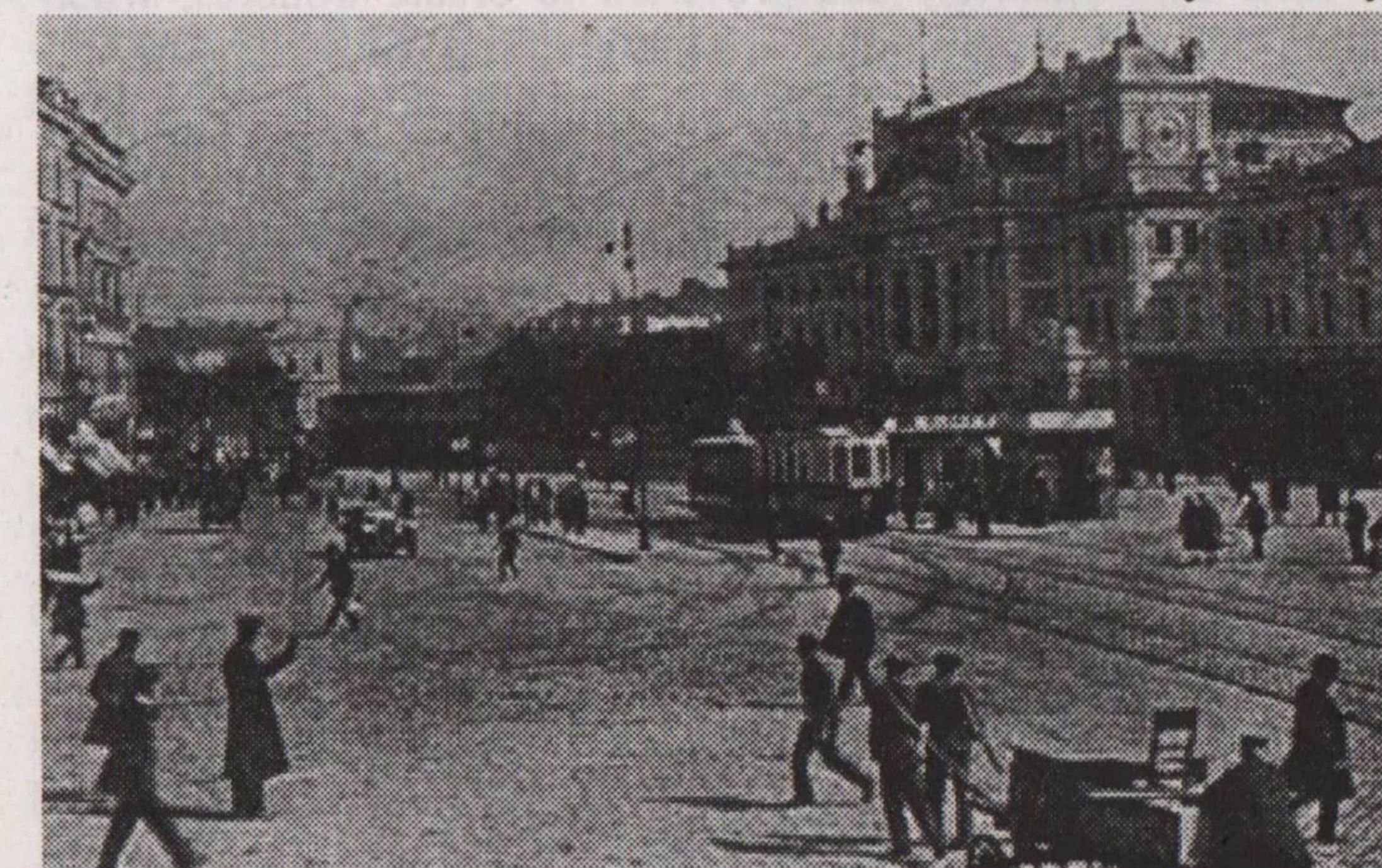
Well, and how did it end up? Referendum was participated by 24.9% of electors. No triumph of direct democracy within the frame of capitalist state held up. Just for completeness' sake, 67 440 electors voted against displacement and 11 088 for it.

I personally was a member of one of election committees. I took it as a brigade-work for not big, but easily earned money. It was a valuable experience. Pearl of election was one well-known Brno's neonacist, member of JKG (Note of trans.: So called Johnny Kentus Gang, big group of Brno's "hooligans", that's attacking punks, activists and everyone they call "a leftist scum"), which was remonstrating in election room: "Why dunn them cunts better repair soccer stadium?" By the way, the nazi-hooligan scene also did not stay calm about this theme. One could read on internet guestbooks arguments like that when will be station displaced, it will be far to Drakkar and Fabrika (nazi pubs) and so nobody will be willing to go out to fight. To wit, in front of station are Brno's neonacists and nazi-hooligans very often assaulting people they don't like.

I was in election committee with three senior ladies, so I was unwillingly informed about health problems of them and all their relatives. I also couldn't mishear their sedated debate about functionalism, family and personal relationships of electors, figures of woman electors, therapeutic impact of raisins, or political scene ("they are all cheaters"). However for me were lots of their opinions just incomprehensible, all of them agreed on that the displacement of station is absurdity. I do think so. But I'm really far from thinking that I could change things, that seem absurd, stupid and unfair to me, by a referendum

If you're interested by moving of Brno's main station, you can look at web of coalition for keeping the station: <http://www.nadrazivcentru.cz/> and web of city council and their partners: <http://www.zeleznicni-uzel-brno.cz/> (Note of trans.: That there are no english section on both webs is, due to local importance, understandable. More characteristic is that on council's web - again made from tax payer's money - is no possibility to submit own opinion, just a parody of guestbook, in fact just exhibition of selected ecstatic pro-displacement sentences.)

Author: **Petr Chromý**
Taken from <http://fsa.anarchismus.org/>,
translated by **F. Kusý**



“As importance and strenght of territorial (local) or work-connected (sindicalist) self-governments will grow, political conscience of communities will change and process of dying out of state will start”

"W PASZCZU"

polish anarcho-regionalists from Vilno

Poles are not immigrants in Lithuania, but they live there since ages probably, as well as Belorussians, Russians, Jews and other, smaller in numbers, nationalities. Creation of nation-states produced very concept of "majority" and "minority". Also, when we personally not neccesserely agree with all ideas of some anarcho-regionalists, we are glad to present here this interesting text. We had translated it from polish anarchist zine "Inny Swiat".

"W paszczu"

polish anarcho-regionalists from Vilno

In October 2002 few parliamentarians from diverse fractions registered in lithuanian Parliament new project concerning administratory-territorial changes. Project this proposes to create in a place of existing 10 "poviats" (formed without considering any historical and ethnic backgrounds) just 4 ethnographic regions: Aukštaitija, Dzūkija, Suvalkija and Žemaitija. Each of them would have own parliament, governing organs and further means of internal autonomy.

In this way, first time since years questions of territorial autonomy are brought up on such a scale. Surely, in details this idea have many failures, especially disadvantageous to minorities (e.g. in region of Vilno populated by 700 000, only ca 50 % are Lithuanians, rest consists of Poles, Russians, Belorussians, etc.) as main argument of proposers is "maintenance of lithuanian nation, language and culture", as usually "forgetting" about diverse nationalities living here. Exactly as in a case of recently introduced law concerning citizenship of RL (Republic of Lithuania), "ethnic" Lithuanian have more rights than Pole, Russian or Jew. Local, traditionally conformist polonic media aren't talking about this issues, only our quarterly "W paszczu".

So, is polish anarcho-regionalist zine in Lithuania needed? Yes! We want to present opinions other ones than in local polish press, we want to defend rights of minorities even despite their own passivity and we want to create troubles, when rights of local communities are violated (eg. we participated in organizing and spreading information about protest actions of inhabitants of village Kuprianishki near Vilno, where city mayor wanted to build garbage dump). This is also why we're putting out "W paszczu".

On other hand we want to move some things in lithuanian underground and general contacts between Poles and Lithuanians. Now, situation of our underground and whole alternative scene is catastrophal. There is few good DIY hc/punk bands, some known even abroad (Spichki, Dr.Green, Bora), but since few years that same small circle of people comes to the gigs. For demonstrations and pickets in Vilno comes usually 4 till 10 people. Except of good quality "Kablys" there's practical-

ly no lithuanian zines. Scene slowly forms boring sectarian attitudes: if you're not vegan, or not anarcho-comunist, or pacifist, or not fan of emocore or ska, you can get isolated, and must organize yourself gigs, distro, etc. Through our zine we try to support all these unruly, not exactly "correct" by scene norms ones and become discussion forum for all parts of underground. On other hand we are forced to fight with stereotypes: in opinion of mainstream society but also of many undergrounders, Pole is perceived as drunken, rude asshole, disco fan obsessed by nationalist, separatist desires. Surely, such a opinion doesn't come from nowhere: local polish nationalists since always are making money on cultivating historical antagonisms and spreading hate between two nationalities. Also because of this there is now over 40, marginal and fighting with each other, polish parties and social organizations. Also because of this, regions vilepski, trotski and soletchnicki populated by polish minority are poorest in the country. In order to confront stereotypes ruling among Lithuanians but also to fight stupidity and middle-ages mentality of Poles, in May of 2002 we formed art group TKM (Teraz Kurwa My - Now Us), which united poets, writers, photographers, social activists. It was people which think differently and think themselves and not according to lines of "only correct ones" phrases of AWPL (main polish party in Lithuania, center-right). In autumn of 2002 first issue of libertarian zine "W paszczu" in polish language, came out. But in order to understand our roots, we have to look back few years.

In 1994 few students of UWP (illegal but functioning polish university in Vilno) created alternative youth club. This club supposed to propagate alternative ideas eg. anarchism. Yet anarchism of its members was rather expression of youth rebellion than conscious adaptation of Bakunins or Kropotkin ideas. In October '94 we organized alternative poetry evening (which was actually first polish happening in Lithuania), which created



scandal in crusted, traditionalist polish circles. You can imagine what was reaction of old patriots still singing "Pierwsza Brygada" (red.: nationalist song from '20's) and dreaming about resurrection of Marshall Pilsudski, when they heard poems like "I fuck ZPL" (Związek Polaków na Litwie - Association of Poles in Lithuania)... We had been accused of fascism, communism, cooperation with KGB, etc. After club organized several events, like punk festival "Fandango", concert of NoMeansNo and dissolved in 1996. With some alternative ideas we infiltrated official polish-language newspapers in Vilno, where articles of some of us appeared. Inbetween there was attempt of creating something serious, we had ambitious plans but all ended in beer...

Renesance of polish alternative movement started in autumn 2000, when first issue of artzine "Chaos" been put out. Firstly was it just zine focused on writers, which didn't wanted or couldn't be present in official media financed by one person. Later it got financial help from some small groups and university as well as logistic support of some older anarchists: Vile, Pacuk and Zuma. Then it runned in 300-500 copies, supposedly every month but generally then when was enough money to print it. In fact it was apolitical zine (few times anarchist articles or translations of anarchist classics appeared), but already was it enough for polish society in Lithuania to claim it as enemy (eg. smearing articles appeared in local mainstream polish press). In spring 2002 we confronted choice: to still get financial support and become next boring conformist publication or to close the zine. We choosed independence, and then created mentioned above TKM, which for its own money printed last, 10th issue of "Chaos".

In November 2002 we put out first issue of "W PASZCZU". It was done DIY of course. In first number we discussed different positions towards EU, second was dominated by texts concerning self-governing and self-organizing, as it was before presidential elections in January 2003.

One of us put even himself as candidate: it was one of our performances. Spending some 5\$ for campaign he got few hundred votes, but we used it also as counteraction against polish parties: we put posters with Stalin as advertisement for AWPL and some stupid old people actually believed, that is original of their beloved party and protected these posters from being ripped out.

Azerbeijani Prisoners Hard Freedom

As it happens in cases when we don't have our own contacts in particular region, but issues are socially or politically important, we print sometimes articles and news from mainstream media, especially if they're written at least by local free-lance journalists and not western "experts". Here one recent story from www.iwpr.net (Institute for War and Peace Reporting) concerning prisoners in Azerbaijan.

Amir Kuliev was recently pardoned by President Ilham Aliiev - but he has little to look forward to. Five years in prison have left him without a family. As soon as he was handed down his conviction for burglary, his wife divorced him, placed their children in an orphanage, and went to Moscow with her new

"W paszczu" doesn't propagate any "only true" way, we are open for all opinions except fascist and communist ones. We consider ourselves as anarcho-regionalists. We are taking from libertarian ideas, but also from sindacalists and federalists, like Proudhon or Abramowski this what we can use. We don't care for abstract visions of future or dogmatic doctrines. We want anarchy "here and now", we stand for self-organizing of local communities. We think, that as importance and strenght of territorial (local) or work-connected (sindicalist) self-governments will grow, political conscience of communities will change and process of dying out of state will start. Some of this we can observe among local communities in Latin America, where more and more decisions on local level is done by locals. We think, that present democracy has so much weak points, that it allows propagating anarchism legally or almost legally. We support protests, demonstrations concerning issues with which we agree and we try to support all initiatives serving local communities.

For polish local elite we are "enemies of polonism no.1", for lithuanian regionalists - we are "polish nationalists", but still for many young Poles living in Lithuania we are magazine, which simply writes the truth. And this is most important for us.

Antoni Pacuk,
Alexander Vile



husband. Only Amir's elderly mother welcomed him home. "I know I did wrong, but I have paid my debt to society," said Amir, 35. "How could she ditch me in his time of need after so many years together? How could she abandon our children?" After almost a year in office, the Azerbaijani president is winning praise for his humanity after having pardoned and released nearly 1,000 prisoners. For many of them, however, freedom is proving almost as difficult as life inside. Amir said he is now looking for work in order to support his mother and take his children back from the orphanage.

Another prisoner, who asked not to be named, was sentenced to 13 years in 1995 for an alleged attempted coup d'etat. He had served in a special police task force, known as the

OPON, during the Nagorny Karabakh war. A few months ago, he was pardoned by the president and released after serving eight years in prison. "They put us in jail for something we didn't do," the veteran said. "Where else would they punish a soldier for obeying his commander's orders? I find myself unable to do anything since I've been pardoned. I haven't recovered from the experience."

President Aliyev has issued four mass pardons since he took office in October 2003. According to Eldar Zeinalov, director of the Azerbaijani Human Rights Centre, the presidential decrees have resulted in the release of 914 convicts, 123 of them prisoners of conscience. Zeinalov believes the political prisoners owe their freedom to pressure by the Council of Europe, which has pressed the Baku authorities hard on this issue.

There are 11 prisons in Azerbaijan, but the justice ministry declined to disclose the number of prisoners held there. Elmira Alekperova, director of the El non-governmental organisation, claims the number of inmates is 15,000, while Zeinalov calculates it is 17,000. In any case, almost six per cent of the total number have been pardoned in the past 12 months.

Experts estimate that around two thirds of married prisoners, in particular women, lose their families while in prison. Psychologist Nadezhda Safarova points to the Azerbaijani mentality as the reason why so many convicts' families break up. "In Azerbaijan, men can get away with anything, but a man will punish his woman for the slightest infraction, let alone a prison term," she said.

Under Azerbaijani law, it is very easy to divorce a prisoner. "The spouse remaining outside just needs to file a divorce plea. If the prison term exceeds three years, the marriage is voided immediately, and the other spouse will be notified accordingly in jail," Elmira Halilova, head of the marriage records office in Khatain district. "If the term is less than three years, the case is decided in court."

The single biggest problem the freed prisoners face is unemployment. "I haven't been able to find work since I was released three years ago," said Akif Magerramov, who served two thirds of his seven-and-a-half year term. "When they find out about my criminal record, they won't even talk to me. It is pointless to try and explain that you are not a repeat offender, but someone who had made a mistake."

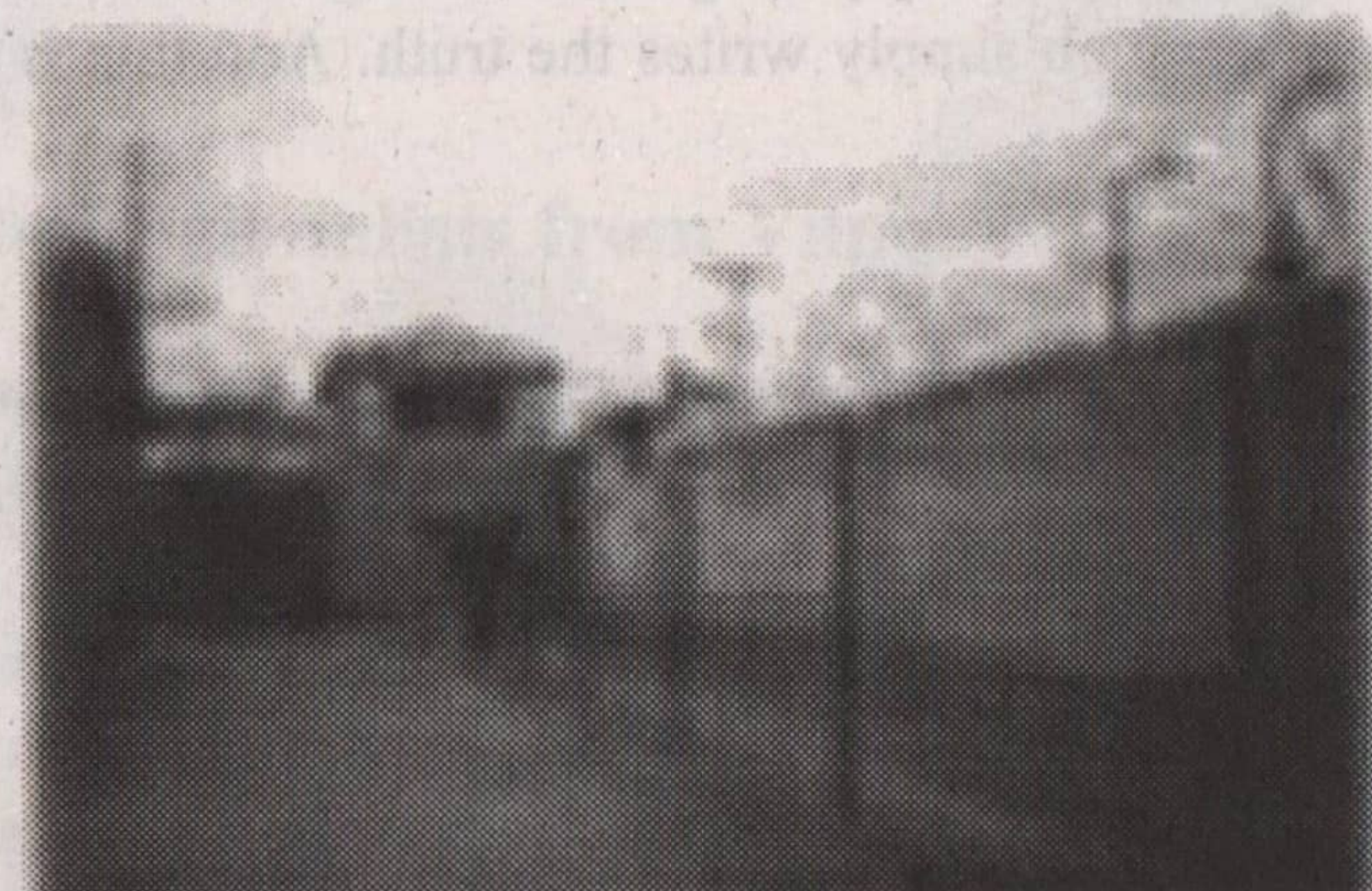
"The indifference and mistrust ex-prisoners face compels many of them to commit more crimes," said Isakhan Ashurov, a former police chief turned lawyer. "The majority of first-time offenders sooner or later go back to jail." He recalled that in Soviet times there was a whole system whereby freed prisoners were

all offered jobs but that this had now disappeared.

One ex-con who has not been able to resume his professional career is

Adil Geibullah, a leading member of the opposition political party Musavat, who spent three years in prison after hitting a pedestrian with his car. "[Geibullah's] professional activity was not discussed by the court and the court did not deprive him of his doctor's license," Ashurov noted. "So after he served his punishment he had the right to return to the department he headed." The war veteran referred to earlier has not had to encounter the problem of recovering his job or apartment or even his family. He has never had any of these. He went to war when he was 18, then to prison when he was 24. Now he is 32-years-old and has to start his life from scratch and he is not sure he is up to the challenge in Azerbaijan. "I try to avoid my former fellow OPON soldiers," he said. "When we do get together, all we ever talk about is the war and the many years we spent in jail for no reason. I don't think I can take it anymore. Maybe I should leave the country and leave it all behind."

September 2004,
by Samira Akhmedbeili -
a freelance journalist in Baku.



ANARCHIST

ABC MOSCOW

Oleg Serebrennikov
writes 14th of October:

"After 6 months of investigation, 14 PM (local time, 11 AM GMT) October local court of Izhevsk begins hearing of criminal case 1-515 against neo-nazis Yan Vladislavovich Krasnovskiy (born 1982), Vitaliy Aleksandrovich Novikov (born 1987), Vladimir Andreyevich Ivonin (born 1984) and Mihail Olegovich Gubanov (born 1986), on part 2 of statue 213 and part 2 of statue 115 of Russian Criminal Codex. These people are members of Izhevsk section of neo-nazi Freedom Party.

In 23rd of February 2004, an anti-war picket was organised in the central square of Izhevsk in context of all-Russian campaign against war in Chechnya. Around 2 PM accused 4, together with 15-20 other persons assaulted Oleg Serebrannikov and Aleksander Zimbovskiy, who were returning from the anti-war picket. Shouting "Sieg Hail!" and "White power!", they surrounded us, beat us with iron bars and stabbed with knives. As a result of the serious wounds in my head, I was taken to neuro-surgical section of the MSCh number 7. 25th of February Aleksandr Zimbovskiy travelled home to Yekaterinburg, I remained in hospital. Excited by absolutely impunity, leaders of local nazis appeared in my section - they were Aleksandr Shneider (born 1966), twice imprisoned for robbery, with his adjutant Yan Krasnovskiy. They threatened to kill me if I start a criminal case, and if I continue my activities. This was not yet enough for nazis, and 3rd of march Vitaliy Novikov appeared in hospital, repeating the threat. My traumas were very serious, and eventually I had to spend 3 months in various hospitals. During this time, position of powers and police changed 180 degrees. In the beginning, they were totally disinterested about the attack, and did everything in order to cover it up. For example, in session of State council of Udmurtian Republic, which took place few days after the assault, prosecutor Sarnaev announced to question of deputy V.B. Tihonov that the fight had not any political motives whatsoever. There was a clear impression, that powers and police are covering activities of neonazis. Only

ANARCHIST

BLACK CROSS

when information about brutal assault was distributed in main papers of Russia and reports of NTV and REN-TV, and after a group was sent from Moscow police to investigate activities of local police around our case, their politics had changed. And even then, having got a slap to their wrists, local police was much more interested about how we managed to organise such a successful information campaign, than about searching nazi-skinheads who had assaulted us.

In beginning of the April, case was passed to investigatory chapter of Administration of fighting against organisational crime in Udmurtia (UBOP). During these five months, various investigations were conducted - interrogations, identifications, medical expertises. Results of these investigations were modest, since investigator was not too interested about the case. I even had to fight information, such as names and addresses of the assaulters myself. This way, I managed to have a case against Novikov. Threats by Shneider resulted no reaction whatsoever, investigators did not even bothered to interrogate people who were staying in the same section of the hospital and who heard those threats - although I told investigators names of these people. But anyway, few of the fascists were indeed sued and I hope that they receive according to their acts. 25th of August investigation of the case was finished, and the case was passed to prosecutor of Udmurtia.

In the end, I want to express huge gratitude to all comrades, who helped me in the difficult moment - without your help, everything would have been much more hard. Special thanks to people from Anarchist Black Cross of Moscow and Yekaterinburg Movement Against Violence.

Oleg Serebrennikov

Translator note: Oleg is still paying big buck for the crap medics he may afford, so any help in finances is welcome.

You may write to Moscow Anarchist Black Cross if you want to help:

spt2003@email.com

BLACK CROSS

"On a governmental level they
dont give a fuck about the Roma"

Romas in Serbia

on the example of the community
in Rakovice/Belgrad

Interview with Roma activist
by Barbara; Balkans

To get an authentic picture of Roma culture and existence struggle one should share the life with them. An attempt in this direction was being done on the Peoples Global Action-Conference in Belgrad/Serbia the last week of July. In Jainci there was a workshop with Roma prepared by local friends, doing Samba music, listening to each other and last but not least having a party together.

This is a summary of an interview that was being held with one of the activists in Rakovice, a village nearby the conference at the outskirts of Beograd. I want the reader just feel beamed on his sofa in his home and read exactly to his words and way how he was telling us about their living conditions.

Our Roma community in Rakovice was settled in 1981. Most of us came from Medakovic a suburb of Beograd, where we had our own houses. It was a decision of the post-Tito government that there should be build roads. We were moved by force of the police, they took us in trucks and left us here. So forceful, like Nazis.

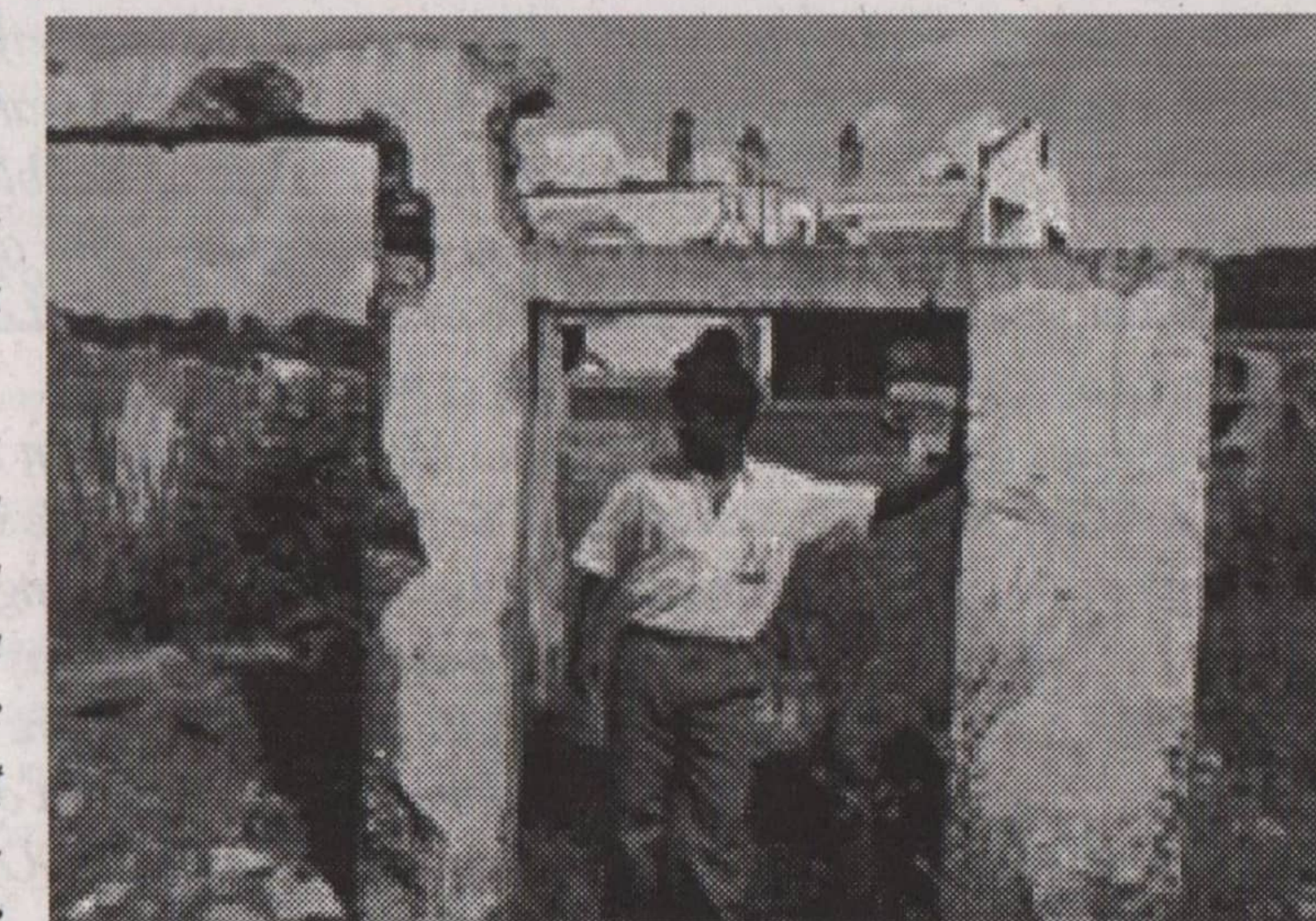
Here they gave us first containers and said it would be just temporary, this was 23 years ago. The most of us are not educated. So we have lousy jobs. What we do is collecting from containers. What we find: metals, car boards etc. we sell to the factories. Most of us would like to do an education process, but we have to care to have jobs.

Our community was growing bigger and bigger, but we still have only the containers the city gave us long ago. We have 20 m for one family, no matter if Family is of 20 persons or 5. In the Roma community young people marry early because the safety lies in the family. Its something sacred to us. We are 76 families, about 500 people and over two-thirds are kids or young.

Our biggest problem is with the hygiene. We have a work that is not clean. The garbage pit of our community is near the entrance. During the day both parents have to go to work, the older children have to look after the small children, but lots of times when the kids are on their own they are on the streets dont know what to do and at the deponie they are sometimes playing in the garbage.

The most of our lives is working, working, working. Our culture is not based on hygiene. So if somebody of us feels that there is something wrong, they would just continue. When they look to a doktor they are usually totally wasted and its much too late. Our average life time is 60. In the last three years there have been 10 people of us dying at the age of 30 - 45. Cancer is one of the main reasons of death. We had children infected by hepatitis and then when one gets sick after a time the others get sick.

For example: its in the cities responsibility to give and empty the trash containers. A thousand times i took a phoneline to the representatives but they just tell they have no resources for that. One time they even asked 200 Euro for a trash container. On a state level we have the rights than all others have, too: free movement etc.. But in praxis its nothing worth, cause of the corruption all money is swallowed up and also they just dont



want to help. For example, if we apply for a regular job on the telephone everything is alright, but when we come they say they have already found somebody else for it. And they look at us as if we were not like a human being.

On a governmental level they don't give a fuck about the Roma. Of course people everywhere are good and bad. But for example the Nationalists formed organized groups to beat us up. And from time to time they do an organized action! The highest point of violence was in 1996 when they killed one Roma guy. Fourteen months ago one boy got an iron stick in the stomach in an attack by three others.

There was this Grovosi action where they were putting plakats in the streets "Serbia for Serbs, out with Roma" and they wanted to attack the community of Cemon. We informed the public and got people to help us and fortunately it was raining. They did not show up or try it again. In the city of Nis there have been graffiti of nationalists who forbid the Roma kids to go to school...

Our Roma village is just one of like 50. Much of the Roma communities have even worse conditions. Some have no water, no houses so they live in selfmade huts on citydumsters. There is lots of those cases. Here we have a better position, but not good enough. We are on paper not discriminated and the media does all to create in the public the opinion that we have the same conditions like others. But it's not true, the reality is different.

But that's not all. Most of us worked in Germany and other western countries. Of course lots got returned, but others are still there and work for us here also. Maybe people work there in double shifts, they come back to build a house and also give money here. We as Roma got to make better conditions, but the main problem is that most of us are not politically aware simply because there is no time for it.

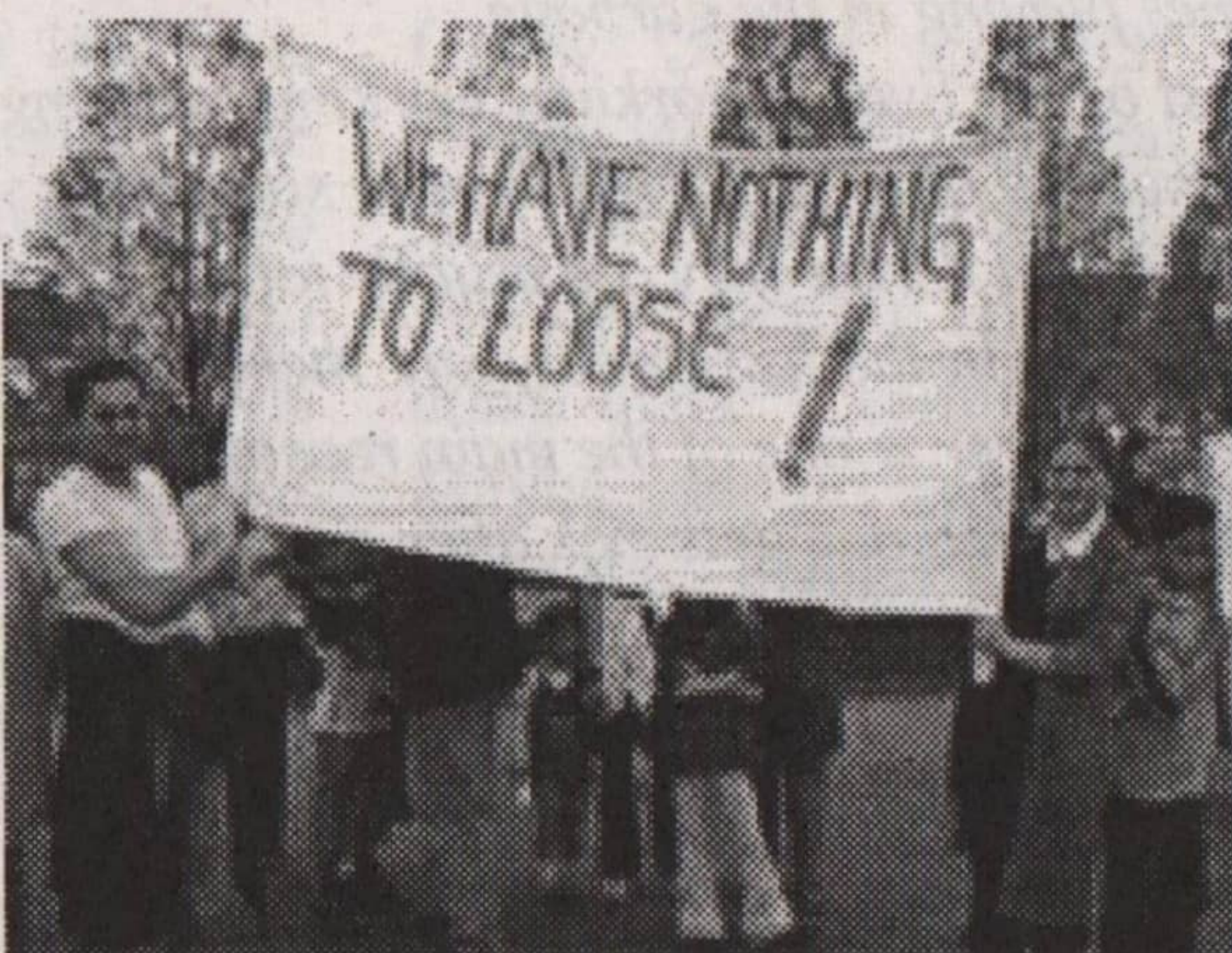
I am for example in the Roma National Theater in Belgrad. So last year was a Roma musicfestival in Berlin, just Roma. We were invited and were the only theater there. After that we were travelling.

As a representative of our Roma community I was working to get a cooperation on a state level. But I quit this. Everywhere I was to get some understanding and support they chased me away out of the office. Now four months ago we formed a group, some kind of NGO to find and make contacts. Mainly to make the Roma to help themselves, as Roma to go for better conditions. We need to see some light, cause it's now the 21st century.

Now it's in process to make some money for a Roma Cultural Center. We are starting from Zero. The first things to do are: to make basic living conditions and to make the Roma aware of themselves and in time develop some strategy. It should be a training center. In the first period we gather people to do things. We are not accepted by the Serb society, so if we are working in the Roma Center we might be able to educate ourselves or if a non-Roma want to help they can come too. In this training center we could build a second chance on getting abilities. For example if we have computer we can learn to work with this. At least the next generation should get an education process. We have to have some external contact, now we are looking for NGOs to help us with the project and accommodation.

So that we can communicate with the world. The Roma would appreciate every solidarity or support. And in the end help also back.

For respond, international solidarity groups or individuals - just write to: romano-bg@trust-me.com, the giver of the interview will be happy to get in contact with You.



DOWN WITH ALL PRISONS!

We print below another report from mainstream press concerning this events, and we hope get more accurate from our romanian comrades for next issue. Down with all prisons! AbolishingBB

The most serious incident occurring in a Romanian prison after '89. Four youths struggle between life and death, with minimum chances of survival, while another one has already died, after a fire bursted on Friday 27th september at the Craiova Juvenile Penitentiary. A missing pair of sport shoes - this was the motive of the protest started by the youths, which led to the fire. A tragic irony - the shoes were found while the prisoners were burning alive. The relatives of the prisoners reclaim the authorities, while "Ziua" newspaper headlines: 'Dreadful Prison House' and accuses the prison house commander for having ordered that proves should be destroyed.

DREADFUL PRISON HOUSE

One underage citizen is dead and 4 others are in hospital in serious condition. This is the outcome of the revolt in PMT Craiova (the Craiova Prison House for Youth and Underage).

The mistreatment of underage and young detainees in the prison house in Craiova made some of the latter revolt, at the cost of one life. Viorel Constantin Stamate died. The other four rebels were seriously injured after their room on fire.

The incident brings to the foreground again one of Romania's most serious problems: life in prison houses. The parents of relatives of the underage who rebelled have unveiled the fact that the convicted in this prison house are ceaselessly tortured and subject to permanent abuse by guardians.

At present there are people guilty of this incident, but nobody tells who they are. But it is sure the 5 underage are somehow to blame. But it is rather the prison house rulers who are guilty of it. After often tolerating breaking of rights, they are now trying to get away with it and claim they could do nothing to prevent the tragedy. They are blaming one of the convicted for it.

The prison house commander ordered that proves be destroyed. The Ministry of Justice and the National Office for Child protection and Adoption have started independent investigations.

The families of the convicted believe the guardians employed by PMT Craiova are guilty of it, as they failed in putting the conflict away. Moreover, the relatives of the injured underage stated intention to sue prison house rulers for mistreating the convicted and for the action they took after the adolescents were injured.

Families say the convicted youth were under terror and that the incident could have been prevented if their rights had been obeyed and if they had been carefully watched.

Workers thrown out to the street; Zadar - Croatia

Capitalism shows its true face again - an anti-humanist and exploiting system led solely by the logic of profits, which are placed high above the needs of man. The workers of the Zadar daily Co. are the latest victims of capitalism in our city. Without a warning (in order to prevent them from self-organization!), they were thrown out to the street and left without the basis of its existence in the capitalist society - their jobs. For those workers, the state that functions as semi-colonial province of the capitalist West holds no future and they will probably end in the labour market.

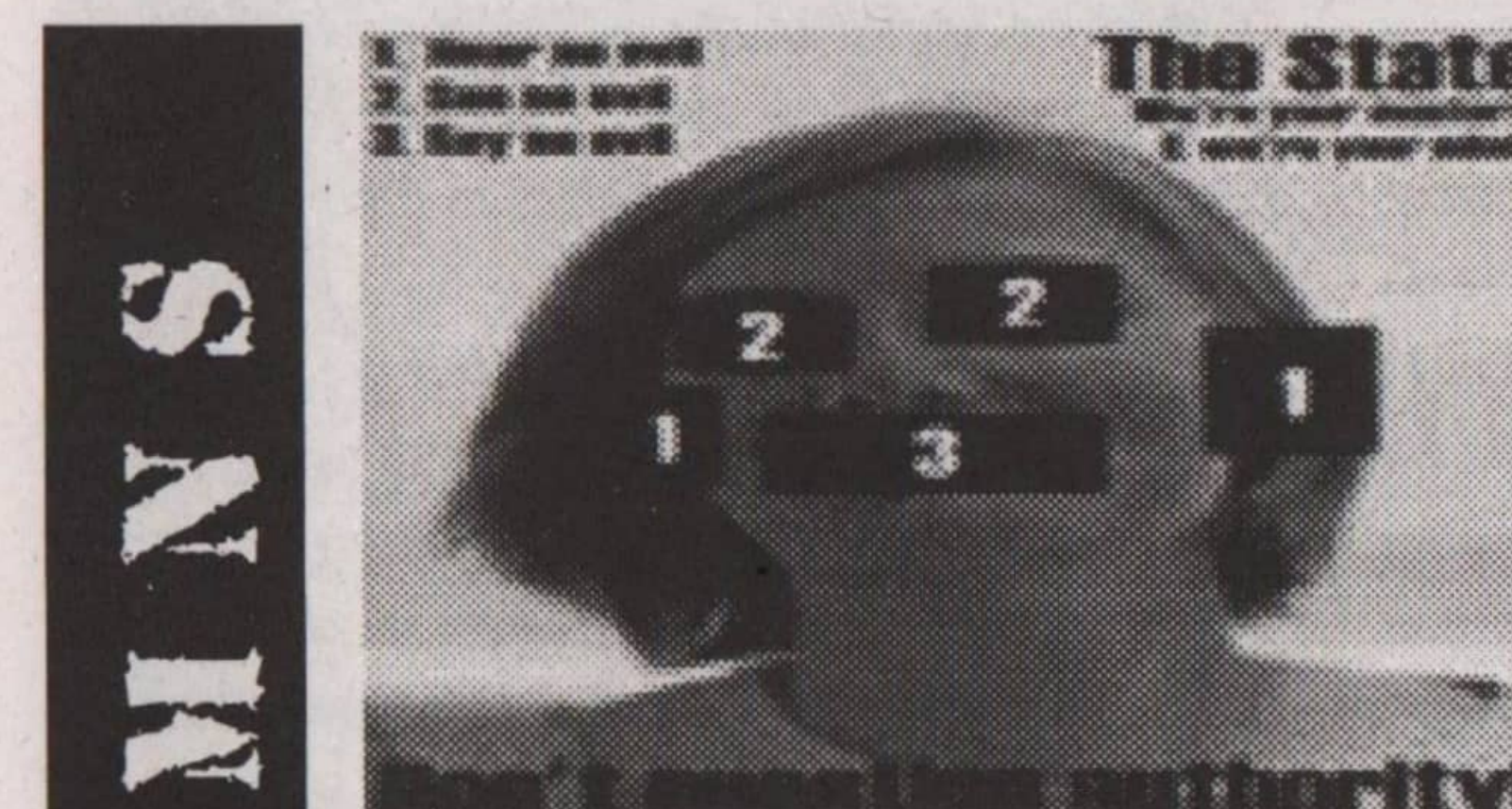
Their tragedy doesn't end there, at the loss of employment. The tragedy is multiplied by the State through the bank loans that the majority of workers are forced to take in order to, somehow, follow the "popular Croatian standards of living" which has the tendency to bring the majority of workers to the edges of mere existence. Since these workers won't be able to pay back their loans, their comrades, workers who decided to be guarantors for the loans out of solidarity, will have to pay. The fraud is multilayered.

The scenario that has befallen the workers of the dairy company may happen to all workers in Zadar and the District, for in capitalism, jobs are not secure as they are dependant on the fluctuation on the leviathan markets, led exclusively by the logic of profits. So, the employer decided to move the operation in Serbia because there the workforce comes cheaper, due to the even greater socio-economic chaos. Therefore, the alternative is not to close our eyes and pray that it doesn't happen to us, 'cause God is helpless there. The alternative is to take the matter in our own hands and regulate this society according to the interests of the working class. The capitalist and the worker, regardless of the efforts of our national politicians and nationalists to convince us otherwise, can't have "joint national interest" because their class positions are completely opposite. The former exploits, the latter is exploited; the former gives the orders the latter obeys; the former is a parasite, the latter is producer. The State, which allows for such a situation and provides the legality for it, making a hefty profit for itself in this system of injustice, is itself opposed to the workers. It will

always take the side of capital, for it is, indeed, a force that rises from capitalism and depends on it, just as the capitalism depends on the state for its well-being. The ongoing privatization of the means of production means nothing more than further deterioration of the working class socio-economic status.

We, the Zadar Anarchist Front, solidarize with the laid-off workers and appeal to them, as well as all other workers, to resist; to take over the factories, to strike, sabotage and do everything necessary to force the capitalists to give us our rights back. We repeat, however, that the liberation of the working class is possible only beyond capitalism; by taking down Capitalism and the State, we will build a new social system based on justice. A system based on the interests of men, not capital. The society which will be managed by and for the workers, without bureaucrats to tell us "what should happen and how." Long live the international workers struggle! Long live the Revolution! Long live the Anarchy!

Croatian Zadar Anarchist Front



AFFINITY, FALSE UNITY AND FETISHES

I'd like to respond to the letter in the last issue of ABB entitled "A Critical Look at the Polish Anarchist Movement" written by one "Internal Enemy". In large part I agree with the observations made, but I think the comments on false unity and affinity groups are rather oversimplified.

Internal Enemy (who I'll call "Enemy 'A'", or "Enema" for short, since he claims to be "internal" and talks about fetishes) finds false unity the most important problem in the movement. I can agree it is important, but I don't think it's the biggest problem, nor do I see the problem in the same way.

According to Enema, the most important weakness of our movement "lays in attempts to create organizations (as if people couldn't be active without those...) that will unify in one body, everybody calling him/herself anarchist." Further: "It ends up in situation that we have Anarchist Federation that is unofficially dead for some time, having in its ranks all sorts of people that actually don't feel any affinity with others, there are so many contradicting tendencies in this group that no wonder it is not capable of doing anything successful, even holding national meetings properly." Enema says that there is a tendency to bureaucratize things, the ideological line is too broad and the answer is to organize in affinity groups.

I think there is something true but also something off the mark here. To be perfectly clear, I reject the type of anarchism which sees organization building as the highest goal and disparages everything else because in my opinion, affinity groups are natural, they can work well and can be perfectly anarchistic entities. Those who claim there is no value in this type of organization (affinity group), for me is a large organization fetishist who isn't seeing the whole picture. On the other hand, organizations such as federations can be simply practice of free association, networking etc. and do not have to be either bureaucratic, nor "false".

The dividing line between anarchists is not always between people who like organizations or not, albeit a good number of people tend to present it that way. Nor does it have to be "organizations" that are the ones that convey false unity.

When we (from the Praga group) formed a separate group from the general Warsaw EA, which was a very vague entity, (so mixed with different people just from the general scene and people with all sorts of political leanings), we had an interesting experience. All we wanted to do is work in a more cohesive way with people who thought the same way - in short, we formed an affinity group. Some people saw this as "bureaucratization" although there's no bureaucracy at all in our group. Other people saw it as "sectarianism" and, unfortunately, we often still have this label. In other words, a large segment of people around us saw it as an absolutely negative thing that we wanted to have a smaller group that had similar politics and goals instead of just hanging around with everybody and being part of something broad and abstract. So the verbal opposition and pressure against us was made not really by "organized people" like EA (where we just explained what was going on and it was cool) more or less cause there ARE a small number of people who believe in this false unity - not many though; the real opposition came for people who were unorganized in

any way, (no affinity groups, organizations, etc.) and just want these big, mass, vague groups to function. These people in turn are certainly not a homogenous group; some people do not feel organizations are needed to be activists, some feel we don't need to be "anarchist only", but some are just totally weak in the head politically and find it all the same whether people vote or are members of authoritarian parties or are reformists or whatever, just as long as they like you, like to hang out with you, etc. And, of course, bigger is better.

The opposition of affinity group and organization is somewhat meaningless for me because both types of entities can be so different. An affinity group can be, for example, a group of people who just like each other and have political differences which limit them politically. (Many groups based on culture and lifestyle are like this.) In that case, an affinity group can have a broader range of politics than an organization and also not be able to function politically. The most it can do is organize concerts and parties or take part in very broad politics like anti-war demos. It can be a very dynamic entity, but what are we aiming for - dynamism or the accomplishment of political goals? (For many people, probably the former.) Other affinity groups are very cohesive politically. The same can be said of "organizations"; some have a common political goal, some have only a symbolic unity (label) or have unity only in some points but not in others.

The EA, I think, specifically is a case of the latter, not of "false" or "symbolic" unity. Enema's suggestion that it is so broad it is ineffective is not really true, although, certainly there are differences amongst people and sections, occasionally even serious ones. It is true that EA was originally made on a rather broad platform, but it was gotten narrower and I've seen more serious ideological differences in other networks I've been in. Attempts to make a detailed ideological positions have not passed through the whole Federation and not everybody is convinced that such a thing is necessary.

ry. Our group was one of the ones working on changes to the position but we were never inclined to force a more concrete ideology in some areas on the others. This is always a question for anarchist organizations, even more so for existing ones which have undergone numerous transformations than for new ones that are starting. How deep or detailed should our unity be to work together? If we are extremely detailed and specific, do we risk severely limiting the people who may be attracted to us? These questions are found in many organizations, formal and more informal alike. In the EA, there are those who like it that way, those who want to be even less specific and those who want to have a very tight platform, so it is sometimes a source of irritation for some people, occasionally a source of dissatisfaction. I don't think there's anything 'false' about this situation; people are aware of this and try either to come to some understanding or compromise or go away. That said, there are a few sorts that simply think it's a waste of time to discuss the different expectations or that simply decide that the other people are stupid and just hurl offensive remarks. A few people, (very few - I can count them on the fingers of one hand), thus may actually be guilty of trying to create a false unity in the way that they just assume everybody should be in agreement with their assumptions and fear discussions that might uncover any different ideas. These are the types of people who say things like "OK, let's not discuss sexism in the movement because we all agree it's bad and we've got to concentrate on some concrete actions....". These are the types of people who, if you tell them you've got another opinion and want to approach things a different way start accusing you of "breaking solidarity" or "making splits". They also seem to be authoritarian personalities who cannot even stand democratic principles in practice and I'm sure that it's no coincidence that the people who imply that everybody must agree are those types.

That said, on the whole, despite the few bad seeds, I find more to unite me with the others in EA than those anarchists outside. Most anarchists in Poland are out of EA but ideas to create a different Federation came to nothing. Some must not see the point in having a Federation but I'm sure that others couldn't even find enough to unite themselves around since most of the anarchist movement is much broader in spectrum than the EA. Quite frankly, that's we're you get the reformists Enema complains about; the much broader movement really contains a lot of leftists and liberals who are just attracted to certain aspects of the scene, particularly where the scene bases itself on subculture. Where anarchists don't base themselves on subculture, many of those types just stay away.

And many anarchists have a complex about this because they know that, for example in Wrocław there may be a "scene" with 100 people but only one person in the Anarchist Federation. So, some people call the EA "dead" and some people wonder how to make it more relevant to those people who don't join. The problem is that there are different approaches. Some are in favour of being 'less specific'. Others, usually from the authoritarian camp, are in favour of getting more "organized", sort of like Workers' Democracy or something because things are such a mess. While I am, in general more fond of good organization and responsibility than fuck-ups, much of the suggestions for improving organization have come in the form of specializing functions and eliminating group work and even starting authoritarian practices and usually tend to come from those few who use threats and insults instead of discussion and who practice authori-

tarian unaccountability and pretend that it's collectivism. Ironically, authoritarianism is one of the few proven organization building methods in Poland. There are apparently a lot of people who want "facilitated activism" - in other words, they wanna see that everything is well-organized and in place because they just want to come and be told what to do; they don't want to think, discuss or try to build a more horizontal process because that's difficult. Why bother when you can just say there is no hierarchy and go to your action after action and feel like you're making an important social movement? Enema seems to think that there are a lot of people in EA for whom building the organization is a facade, more important than real solidarity, but in fact, it's a few and, probably they wouldn't even really do or say anything if it weren't for the fact that they are convinced that such behaviour is just what's needed. Unfortunately, the sad fact is that some people complain that organizations are "too bureaucratic" or unnecessary in Poland, but some people, even sometimes the same people, want these little leaders, they want and even need charismatic people to get them off their asses and tell them what to do. When we have a bit of chaos because of inability to make a decision through consensus, there is always somebody from this camp ready to laugh at how disorganized we are and praise the smooth running of groups that don't even bother to try the consensus process. A lot of us know that this sends the wrong message to the authoritarians: you must present a well-oiled unified machine, otherwise people will laugh you down. Not important how you create it, or even if it exists at all.

Enema makes fun of an inability to organize the conferences. (This happened a few times recently.) I wish it were really a funny situation. It really shows what kinds of problem lays at our basis. I don't think that being too broadly based to be in sync is our problem; the groups outside the Federation are more broadly based and some of them have no perceivable politics at all. How did it look in reality? Some people hostile to the Federation process don't feel like having a meeting unless they set the agenda themselves: the authoritarians (really 2-3 morons) go so far as to claim "there's nothing to discuss" if they haven't set the agenda themselves, just like if they are voted down in a meeting, they claim the meeting is a farce. (It's definitely unhealthy, but it looks like they will use Workers' Initiative instead of EA in the future as a vehicle for doing such things because there's less direct democracy there than in EA.) Then making the decision is sometimes difficult: are there many other events being held at that time, how to make the decision... Sometimes people just get frustrated and call for one person or group to make a unilateral decision about holding the conference and, if it doesn't happen, then the conference may not happen. Because not every group is inclined to hold the conference if there isn't an overwhelming majority who agreed to the dates, etc. Enema maybe interprets this as "EA being dead", and, although it represents a certain problem, I think it is a different syndrome. In the old times, EA seemed to be very much under the control of a few leader personalities who probably ensured that decisions were made even if nobody took part in them. I don't think that the Federation is dead as much as the problem is that people seem unable to organize themselves; there is, quite frankly, an incredible problem with leaders and autoorganization in this place - in some cities more than others.

For example, people were complaining last year that the EA bulletin stops coming out, so we inven-

ted the publishing tool which allows people to submit items to the bulletin except not everybody uses it. Ironically, it's exactly the people who argued the most for the institution of a centralized bulletin under some editor who seem incapable of using this open, decentralizing tool. We don't know what do think - did they want this centralized editor because they're too lazy to take part in this creation themselves or do they not participate because the vote decided to do it in a different way than what they proposed or something else? We don't know, but we see that the ones likely to complain that this self-organization was a failure and move again for centralization are exactly the people who were unable or unwilling to participate in the decentralized model. Perhaps these are more details about the inner problems of EA than the average reader of ABB is interested in and surely these are serious problems, but the point is that they seem to stem more from a tradition of hierarchical organizations.

The expectation from the outside from some that we present a unified front, even if we're not always of the same mind, that makes the problems worse. People find it easier to be frustrated and come up with the wrong solutions than to be able to tackle such a problem. I'm sure that many of us have contemplated giving up only to decide that somehow there were enough good people to merit staying and trying to make things better. A lot of us know we'll face the same shit in or out of the Federation.

I find it all a Catch-22 situation; we're supposed to look unified or we're accused of false unity. If there are unified groups with clear objectives, they're called sectarians. If we respond to being labelled sectarians by having more minimalist features in common, we're too broad based. If we go in small groups, we're labelled unpopular and unsuccessful. If we try to make larger groups, they say we make a fetish out of organization building. In short, there are many people who just don't like us, for a whole variety of reasons, some even contradictory. Some justified. It is hard to be a successful group if you are not single-issue focused or based on something local, a concrete project, or so vague as to be meaningless. (Like "alter-globalists".) It is hard to be a larger group or federation than an affinity group, but that doesn't mean there might not be benefits, despite some problems and drawbacks. And it has to exist in a larger scene, with people sending mixed messages, with people intent on disliking it because their tribe dislikes it, with leftists hoping it will get broader so as to include leftism but at the same time claiming it's too broad, with some people saying it's too authoritarian but working with even more authoritarian bodies... Some of the problems we have are really our own fault but I get the impression that a lot of it has to do with bowing to pressure from the scene do abandon our folly of trying to be committed anarchists when we can be organizing squat parties instead - which, according to what I see, is more attractive to them all than, for example, making a solidarity protest or talking about politics. I would be truly surprised that Enema found "organizational fetishism", which as far as I know effects only a small handful of people, to be more serious a problem than sloppy and contradictory politics, lack of ability to self-organize, lack of commitment and responsibility or even substance abuse if I didn't already know that this particular thing is an easy thing to target, especially for those who want somebody else's shit to stink more than their own. **Laure**

(who's heretic opinions are hers and is not speaking on behalf of any organization)

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

THE NEVER COMPLETE LIST OF ANARCHIST GROUPS, PROJECTS AND COLLECTIVES FROM EASTERN EUROPE

Welcome to EE anarchism

www.alter.most.org.pl (good english)

www.abb.hardcore.lt (bad english)

Armenia

"Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; <http://www.ad-em.narod.ru>
vaga@freenet.am

Belarus

ABC Belarus - Belarus 230023 Grodno p.o. box 217; intolerant@autonom.zzn.com; www.anarchik-tblackcross.by.ru

AFA (Antifascist Action) - Minsk; restless81@mail.com

Anarchist Library - Minsk; antyfa@mail.ru

Anti-McDonald - <http://belmac.narod.ru>;
<http://kompaktor.narod.ru>

ANTYFA - antifascist group; antyfa@mail.ru

Autonomous Action / Grodno - Grodno P. O. Box 38 230015 Grodno; Belarus.

Autonomous Action / Minsk - Minsk P. O. Box 34 220030 Minsk; Belarus.

"Ataka" - anarchist newspaper; ataka@tut.by

BAF/ Belarusian Anarchy Front - baf@list.ru

Belarusian Linux Community - www.linux.hitech.by

"Ecoresist" - anarcho-ecological group; ecoaction@tut.by

FAB / Federation of Belarusian Anarchist -

* Minsk; P.O.Box 33, 220134;

* Novopoloc; nuts-1@rambler.ru

"Free Theatre" - anarchist theatre from city of Brest; ksenia_izberg@mail.ru

KDS "Razam" / Condefederation of Active Initiatives "Together" - 230005 Belarus; Grodno P.O.Box 237; kds-razam@tut.by; www.razam.by.ru

"Navinki" - satirical anarchist weekly newspaper; Minsk; kampramat@tut.by

"Rebellious girls" - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk; rebelgirls@mail.ru

www.anarchistory.boom.ru - history of anarchy in Belarus

www.375crew.org - d.i.y. political punk \ hardcore culture of Belarus

Bosnia & Herzegovina

Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina" - Banjaluka; ab_useyu@yahoo.co.uk
www.osvajanje.slobode.bravehost.com - anarchist info from BiH

Bulgaria

"Anarho Sprotiva" (Anarchist Resistance) - newspaper; <http://resistance.hit.bg>

"Chlyab i svoboda" (Bread and freedom) - newspaper / discussion forum; <http://savanne.ch/svoboda>; svoboda@bulgaria.com



"Anarchy in BG" - <http://change.to/anarchy>;
anarchy@bulgaria.com

www.stand.at/struggle - anarchist web-site with lot of interesting historical material

Croatia

AFA - anarchist antifa network; www.vjecniotpor.vze.com; antifasista@ml1.net

AnFemA (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) - anfema@zamir.net; www.anfema.tk

"Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajeva 5; 52100 Pula; <http://squat.net/monteparadiso>; monte-paradiso@pu.tel.hr

Rijeka anarchist initiative - rai200@net.hr;
anarhist_ri@yahoo.com

"SKATULA" - infoshop in Rijeka; u Kruznoj 8; open Wed&Thurs.17-21

"Tabula Rasa" - anarchist/libertarian infoshop in Cakovec; address: Josipa Kozarca BB; post: Infoshop Tabula rasa, p.p. 18, 40315 M. Sremsce, Croatia

Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com;
solidarnost.mahost.org

ZAP / Zagrebacki Anarhisticki Pokret - Zagreb's Anarchist Movement; www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/3707; zapzg@zamir-zg.zn.apc.org

Czechia

ABC-CSAF - c/o P.H., po box 41, 565-01 Chocen. abc@csaf.cz

AFA - anarchist anti-fascists group; po box 81; 100 81 Praha 105; afa_praha@volny.cz

AKA AnarchoCommunist Alternative - AKA-CZ@email.cz; phone number: +42077637863

"A-Kontra" - anarchist magazine and collective. po box 223, 111 21 Praha 1; a-kontra@csaf.cz

Anarchist Group Uherske Hradiste - <http://uhas.wz.cz>; uhas@email.cz; "Bazar", P.O.Box 24; 686 01 Uh.Hradiste

CSAF / Czechia - (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation), po box 223, 111 21 Prague 1.
intersec@csaf.cz www.csaf.cz/english

Federaci sociálních anarchistu (FSA - IWA) (Federation of Social Anarchists) - PO box 5; 15006 Praha 56; fsa_intersec@anarchismus.org

<http://fsa.anarchismus.org>

Feminist Alliance of March 8" - @-feminist group; fs8.brezna@centrum.cz

Info-Shop - Sochanska 6; Prague. "MILADA" - squat in Prague;

milada.sq@volny.cz

ORA "Solidarity" - organization of revolutionary anarchists; L.K. po box 223; 111 21 Praha 1;

<http://alarm.solidarita.org>; intersec@solidarita.org

"PAPIRNA" - squat in Prague.

PH - international secretariat of CSAF intersec@csaf.cz

Estonia

www.hot.ee/anarhism - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

Hungaria

"GONDOLKODO ANTIKVARIVM" - anarchist bookshop; www.ainfok.ini.hu;

gondolkodo@citromail.hu Logodi utca 51; 1012 Budapest (it is near Metro station "Moszkva ter");

open Monday-Friday 12-18; BARRICADE COLLECTIVE - anarchist group;

<http://anarcom.lapja.hu>

www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo

Latvia

PRETSPARS COLLECTIVE - zine, distro, web, actions - <http://pretspars.hardcore.lt>; pretspars@riseup.net

"ZABADAKS" - DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc.; Vjolišu 24; Kuldiga; LV-3300Latvia;

www.nekac.lv; maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv

Lithuania

active@hardcore.lt - LT activists network

"BENDRADARBIAI" - autonomous culture centre in Siaulia; Vytauto g.103 A, Siaulia; tel. 370 69909049

booking@hardcore.lt - booking in Lithuania

"GREEN" - diy culture club in Vilnius; Maironio 3 (in the yard), Vilnius;

booking@hardcore.lt

www.hardcore.lt - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

Macedonia

KOLEKTIV ZA SLOBODARSKA IDEJA - anarchist collectiv in Skopje;

slobodarska@yahoo.com;

slobodarska@hypocrisy.org

Plostad Sloboda (Freedom Square) - anarchist publisher; plostad_sloboda@hotmail.com

Direktna Akcija - directa@freemail.com.mk

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

Poland

ABC/ACK - www.ack.most.org.pl
ACK Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa 121. biuletyn@ack.w.pl
ACK Poznan - po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31. sanch@poczta.wp.pl
ACK Bialystok - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.
ACK Slupsk - po box 65; 76-200 Slupsk 12. bifa@polbox.com
ACK Trojmiasto - pomierz@fiko2.onet.pl
ACK Wroclaw - S.A.K.A. ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; 50-240 Wroclaw. pbn@poprostu.pl
ACK Lublin - Piotr Hiller, ul. Cwiklinskiego 2/30; 20-067 Lublin. cqlier@poczta.onet.pl
ACK Lodz - CIL, Po BOX 203, 90-950, Lodz 1; falodz@poczta.onet.pl
Anarchist Library - ul. Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.
Anarchist Library - ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw.
"A-TAK" - anarchist magazine from Krakow; atak@poprostu (contact); atak.dystrybucja@wp.pl (distro); www.red-rat.w.interia.pl/atak.html
"A-zine" - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4. cube@zigzag.pl
"BUNKIER" ("B 48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 48; Torun; dr.ozdu@interia.pl
"C-4" - alternative culture centre in Lodz (ul. Weglowa 4).
"Czarny Blok" ("Black Bloc") - anarchist publication in polish; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.
"De Centrum" - anarchist squat in Bialystok, address: ul. Czeszochowska 14/2; www.decentrum.prv.pl
EMANCYPUNK - anarcha-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78.
FA (Anarchist Federation) - federation of polish anarchists consisting of many local groups.
FA - virtual collective secretary - biurofa@go2.pl
FA-Biala Podlaska - fabp@poczta.onet.pl
FA-Bialystok - wildeast@poczta.onet.pl
FA-Czestochowa - akielasiak@wp.pl
FA/RSA Gdansk - jwal@pg.gda.pl
FA-Inowroclaw - pychu@poczta.onet.pl
FA-Krakow - lukasdab@poczta.onet.pl
FA-Lublin - falublin@poczta.onet.pl
FA-Lodz - falodz@poczta.onet.pl
FA-Opole - sobol13@o2.pl
FA-Ostrowiec Sw. - marcin@natura.most.org.pl
FA-Poznan - fa-poznan@o2.pl
FA-Rzeszow - xjedrusx@o2.pl
FA-Slupsk - onetbifaid@poczta.onet.pl
FA/RSA Sochaczew - antinazi@fiko6.onet.pl
FA-Szczecin - fa_szn@interia.pl; winanar@wp.pl
FA-Warszawa - natak@poczta.onet.pl
FA-Warszawa/Praga - hydrozag@poczta.onet.pl
FA-Wroclaw - ahm@o2.pl
FA Zyrardow - sidom@poczta.wp.pl
Food Not Bombs / Gdansk - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45.
Food Not Bombs / Olszyn - edelweiss@o2.pl
Food Not Bombs / Rzeszow - ul. Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel.602769138.
Food Not Bombs / Gliwice - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com
www.foodnotbombs.prv.pl
"FREEDOM" - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. freedom69@go2.pl

Grupa Anarchistyczna "Solidarnosc" (Anarchist Group "Solidarity") po box 12; 60-975 Poznan 61.
"INFOSZOP" - infoshop / anarchist & feminist library / info cafe in Warsaw; ul. Lotewska 11; Saska Kepa; Warszawa. Open: Monday-Thursday 18⁰⁰-20⁰⁰, Saturday 13⁰⁰-17⁰⁰, Sunday 14⁰⁰-17⁰⁰; www.alter.most.org.pl/infoshop; tel. +48 503676482
Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA (Workers Initiative of FA) - federation of groups linked to FA focusing on support for workers;
IP-FA / Szczecin - Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.
IP-FA / Silesia - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicjatywa_silesia@hoga.pl
KOLEKTYW AUTONOMISTOW (Collective of Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl
"KROMERA" - squat/culture centre; ul. Kromera 6a; Wroclaw.
LETS - Local Economy Trade System in Krakow. testcyf@kr.edu.pl
LETS - Local Economy Trade System in Poznan. lets@poland.com
"LITTLE MARY" - anarchist squat in Czestochowa; ul. Warszawska 249/25;
"Mac Paradiaka" - anarchist magazine in polish; paradiaka@polbox.com
"PILON" - underground bar/cafe open Mo-Sa from 6pm; address: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city). pilon@poczta.onet.pl web: http://www.pilon.prv.pl
RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action) - www.antifa-wildeast.prv.pl; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. pkropotkin@wp.pl
"Radical Cheer Leaders" - anarchist female cheer leaders team based in Warszawa. Contact through Emancypunk.
"ROZBRAT" - squat / anarchist centre, ul. Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.
S.E.K.W. "KRZYK" - squat / anarchist centre, po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul. Sienkiewicza 25; tel. +48 504878370).
"streFA" - infoshop in Szczecin; ul. Domanskiego 1c, tel. 504935357.
"SZWEJK" - anti-military service; ul. Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31
"TEKNO COLLECTIVE" - underground techno crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl
WIEDZMA (the WITCH) - anarcha feminist group; PO BOX 3321-500 BIALA PODLASKA; POLAND; witchgrrrl@poczta.onet.pl; www.wiedzma.most.org.pl
"YA BANDA" - anarchist samba band Milanowek/Warszawa. olga23@go2.pl

Romania

AActiv-IST Collective Timisoara, Antifa autonome / anarchist punk group - aactivistcollective@yahoo.com; pinkpanthers@k.ro; aac@bumerang.ro
A Nera - ecological, social and (counter) cultural center, in the mountains Cheile Nerei; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com
Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action) - spleenpatty@yahoo.com
C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front) - anarchist collective from city of Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com
Gluga Neagra / Black Hood - distribution & bookings for diy concerts tours;

g_a_rezidenta@yahoo.com www.gluganea-gra.go.ro
INFO-PROPAGANDA - anarchist leaflets publishing from Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com, libertat- era@yahoo.com
MISCAREA UNDERGROUND TIMISOARA - (UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT TIMISOARA); www.ugtm.go.ro
URA - anarchopunk fanzine from Craiova; http://www.waste.org/~roadrunner/horea/roman.html
LOVE KILLS - woman anarchopunk zine / Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com
libertatara@yahoo.com
"Revolta !" - bymonthly anarchist & diy hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com
"Revolutionshop" - anarchist infoshop in Craiova; revolutionshop@hotmail.com
www.proiectns.org - grassroots activist site
www.miscareapunk.go.ro - site about punk (and not only) in Romania

Russia

ABC-Moscow - abc-moscow@avtomom.org; P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow (no name on envelope !!!)
Alliance of Kazan Anarchists - antimil@narod.ru; http://antimil.narod.ru
"ANARCHIVE" - russian language electronic library and archive of anarchist theory and practice; http://anarchive.da.ru
Anarchist group of Nizhni Novgorod - P. O. Box 25 603104 Nizhni Novgorod Russia ad_nn@mail.ru
Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia - PO Box, 135, Sochi, Russia, 354065. e-mail: anliteration@rambler.ru
ANTI-FA Samara - anti_fa@mail.ru
Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA) - see "Noviy Svet" newspaper contact address
"Epicenter" - anarchist infoshop in St. Petersburg;; post: Epicenter c/o Vladimir Tarasov, PO Box 103, 190013, St. Petersburg, Russia. e-mail: epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru
FOOD NOT BOMBS - Moscow - http://foodnotbombs.net.ru
Free Trade Unions Confederation - Tomsk; http://kulac.narod.ru
Indymedia Russia - (in Russian language) http://russia.indymedia.org; indyru@nadir.org; indymoskwa@pochtamt.ru (Moscow); indymedia_piter@pochtamt.ru (Petersburg); smeshno@riseup.net (Kiev, Ukraine)
IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization Of Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation - www.angelfire.com/ia/IOKAS; sidorovan@mail.ru
JERRY RUBIN CLUB - Moscow punk club, cooperating with anarchists and environmentalists; jrc@nm.ru; http://jarryclub.narod.ru
KRAS - IWA (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarchosyndicalists) - Moscow: c/o Vadim Damier; -Pereulok Alynova 13 Kv 24; 107258 Moscow; comanar@mail.ru; http://aitrus.narod.ru
"MEGAPHON" - magazine of anarchist, anticapitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; megaphon@mail333.com
"NOVIY SVET" - anarchist newspaper, new-world@mail.admiral.ru; http://novsvet.narod.ru (all issues since 1989).
"NOZHI I VILKI" - political punk/hardcore fanzine; zilonis@newmail.ru; Dmitry Ivanov, p.o. box

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

30, S.-Petersburg, 195009, Russia
OLD SKOOL KIDS - punk/hardcore label and distro; oldschoolkids@yahoo.com; http://oskids.nm.ru
Petersburg Antiwar CommitteE - see "Noviy Svet" contact address
Petersburg League of Anarchists - see "Noviy Svet" contact address
PUNK REVIVAL - antifascist and anarchist punks from ST.Petersburg - http://www.punk-revival.com
RAINBOW KEEPERS - radical environmental movement. Contact addresses:
 -Nizhniy Novgorod - klem@dront.ru
 -Votkinsk - votkinskrk@mail.ru
 -Kasimov - rk@rk.ryazan.ru
 (this is also the address of Tretiy Put magazine)
 -Perm - puliark@rambler.ru
 -Volgograd - maasha@rambler.ru
 -Ekaterinburg - vty2@mail.ru, dpn@etel.ru
 -Moscow - rkazl@seu.ru, blatoba@mail.ru
 -Samara - duplo1@mail.ru, duplo@samtel.ru
 http://duplo.narod.ru
 -Rostov - rkrostop@don.sitek.net
 -Petersburg - tuuli@mail.ru
S.H. SOUND SYSTEM - label & distro including political punk stuff;
 http://svinokop.narod.ru; diyhc@yahoo.com
Siberian Confederation of Labour - Omsk; http://syndikalist.narod.ru/
"UTOPIA" - anarchist magazine of revolution and counterculture Vladlen Tupikin, p.o. box 80, m-208, Moscow, 117208, Russia; utopia@mail333.com
"Victor Serge's Library" - anarchist & communist library;
"VOLYA" - anarchist newspaper (since 1989); obschtschina@pisem.net; http://volja.nm.ru
"ZHEST" - anarcho-feminist magazine; zhest@pisem.net
AUTONOMOUS ACTION network:
Autonomous Action - network of anarchist & libertarian groups all over Russia. po box 13;109028 Moscow. fak-kr@mail.ru
 Autonomous Action of Krasnodar (also for Avtomom-paper) P.O. Box 3472, 350001 Krasnodar Russia fak-kr@mail.ru
 Autonomous Action of Moscow P. O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia dikobrazi@lists.tao.ca
 Autonomous Action (antiglobalist initiative project) - po box 3472; Krasnodar 350001. anti_bs@mail.ru
 "Avtonom" - regular publication of Autonomous Action.
Cities with individual members connected to Autonomous Action: (for Brest of Belarus, Kirov and Perm write to Krasnodar contact address)
 Alma Ata - P. O. Box 149 480 000 Alma Ata Kazakhstan ad_eldar@hotmail.com
 Belorechensk - P. O. Box 5 352630 Belorechensk; Russia sukivse@hotmail.ru - Brynka - P. O. Box 10 94100
 Chelyabinsk - P. O. Box 18742 454021 Chelyabinsk; Russia vital@chel.sumet.ru
 Irkutsk - Vladimir Skraschuk Poste Restante 664056 Irkutsk; Russia
 Izhevsk (Udmurtian republic) antiwar@udm.ru
 Kaliningrad - ska-konig@mail.ru

Kasimov - P.O. Box 52 391330
 Ryazanskaya oblast Russia - rk@lavrik.ryazan.ru
 Kolomna - Yuri Popov Poste Restante 140476 Moscow oblast, glavpochtamt.
 Murmansk - P. O. Box 4614 183050 Murmansk; Russia.
 Novgorod - Vitaliya Lapikina Poste Restante 173014 Novgorod; Russia; holosik@yandex.ru
 Novorossisk - P. O. Box 144 353907 Novorossisk; Russia; ger2@mail.ru
 Rostov-na-Donu - P. O. Box 4059 344103 Rostov-na-Donu; Russia; neponyatny@pisem.net
 Saint-Petersburg - Bolshakov A.E. Poste Restante 192281 Saint-Petersburg; Russia
 blackguard@mail.ru
 Sochi - d_m@pochtamt.ru
 Tyumen - P. O. Box 4481 625001 Tyumen; Russia; roustam_f@hotmail.com
 Volgograd - Vyacheslav Yaschenko ul. Novorossiskaya 16-56 400087; Volgograd; Russia
 Voronezh - an-action@rambler.ru Anarh-vm@yandex.ru
 Yaroslavl - yar_anarchy@mail.ru
 Yekaterinburg - kreator@mail.ru
 Yoshkar - Ola P. O. Box 76 424028 Mari Republic Russia
Websites of groups linked to Autonomous Action:
 http://ad-direct.newmail.ru - federal site maintained from Novorossisk
 http://redskin.newmail.ru - Red and Anarchist Skinheads RASH, maintained from Novorossisk
 http://antijob.nm.ru - site against work, maintained from Moscow
 http://anti-fa.da.ru - Anti-fascist project "Black and Green resistance" from Samara
 http://potok.hotmail.ru - website against Blue Stream gas pipeline, maintained from Novorossisk
 http://www.wad-nn.narod.ru - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists
 http://www.poet5.narod.ru - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod



http://www.tao.ca/~dikobraz/distro - A-distro, biggest distributor of Anarchist literature in the former Soviet Union
 http://www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan.

Serbia

ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative - is@inicijativa.org (international secretary); www.inicijativa.org
Federation of Internationalist Anarchists - federacija@ml1.net
IAS-ADA - anarchist library of local group of IAS; c/o Slobodan Gajin, Vojvodjanskikh Brigada 15b/8, 24430 Ada.
RRR (Radical Resource Room) - polit/cultural

project in Kraljevo; kontra@ptt.yu; www.kontra-punkt.info
Subwar Collective - Belgrade; shavedwomen216@yahoo.com
www.anarchy-serbia.tk - new anarcho side from Serbia

Slovakia

AFA-Bratislava (Antifasisticka Akcia Bratislava) - bacity_afa@yahoo.com
AFA-West (Antifascist Action in west Slovakia) - afa_sk1@hotmail.com
CIRNY KRIZ (CK, Black Cross) - cierny-kriz@yahoo.com.
CSAF / Slovakia - (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation); slovensko@csaf.cz (international contact); regional contacts: CSAF Bratislava - bratislava@csaf.cz CSAF B.Bystrica - bbystrica@csaf.cz CSAF Trencin - trencin@csaf.cz CSAF Vychod - csaf_sk_vychod@yahoo.com; **PRIAMA AKCIA (Direct Action)** - radical social anarchist organization / anarchist union; po box 16; 840 08 Bratislava 48; priamaakcia@yahoo.com

Slovenia

AFA LJ - Antifasisticka Akcija Ljubljana; anarchist AFA group; afa.lj@volja.net
AKD IZBRUH KULTURNI BAZEN - autonomous culture centre in squatted swimm-pool in Kranj; www.akd-izbruh.tk; akd_izbruh@yahoo.com
SAF / Social Anarchist Federation - saf.info@email.si
www.ruleless.com - slovenian anarchist portal

Ukraine

"anarh akbar" - @-zine from city of Sumy; P.O.Box 131; 40-030 Sumy, Ukraine (no name on envelope!)
Autonomous Action / Lugansk - com_act@mail.ru
INFOSHOP - infoshop in Kijev; infoshop@gmail.com; Gorki St. 12B, Kiev, open from 1-7PM.
"Nabat" - ukrainian libertarian anarchist newspaper, www.nabat.info; azaroff@hotmail.ru
www.zaraz.org - page of anarchists from Kyiv
TIGRA NIGRA - anarchist group from Kiev, http://tn.zaraz.org

Turkey

ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent - abcanakara@yahoo.com
"Isimsiz" - anarchist counter-magazine; isimsiz_dergi@yahoo.com
"Kara Gazete" - anarchist street newsletter; http://karagazete.ports.com
kara tren kolektifi (blacktrain collective) - trveling distribution of anarchist literature, info and material; karatren@sofhome.net; **http://ankarafanzin.freesevers.com** - zine from Ankara
http://veganarsi.cjb.net - anarchoprimitivist

THIS LIST CAN BE ENLARGE AND KEEP CURRENT ONLY WITH YOUR HELP, SO WE ARE CALLING ALL GROUPS AND ACTIVISTS AROUND THE EASTERN EUROPE FOR HELP THROUGH CONTACTING US EACH TIME WHEN YOU REALIZE THAT ANYTHING NEED TO BE CHANGE OR ADD ON THESE THREE PAGES.

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE